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NEW TIMES

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HAPPY NEW YEAR!

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1986-INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

The International Year of Peace proclaimed by the United Nations is drawing to a close. In our brief review of the history of anti-war ideas and the fight for peace we have recalled how the initially instinctive striving of the peoples to rule out wars and settle disputes by negotiation led to a conscious awareness of the class roots of armed conflicts and of ways to eliminate them from the life of human society.

A realistic groundwork for the ideas of universal peace was laid after the victory of the Great October Revolution. With the emergence of the socialist world system and the collapse of the colonial empires a powerful barrier to the forces of war was raised which for more than four decades now has prevented mankind from being plunged into the disaster of another world war.

The Soviet Union and its allies and friends have observed the International Year of Peace by intensifying their global offensive against the forces of imperialist aggression. They have advanced concrete plans for ridding the world of the arms burden. Support for the philosophy of peace formulated by the 27th Congress of the CPSU is steadily growing. That philosophy is based on the realization that nuclear war would doom humanity to perish, and hence human values must be given top priority in resolving all problems of world politics.

The United Nations has demonstrated its maturity in the course of the International Year of Peace. At the 41st session of the U.N. General Assembly 102 countries voted for the resolution "On the creation of a comprehensive system of international peace and security"; 154 countries declared for the prevention of an arms race in space and for the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes, and 123 called for the conclusion of a multilateral agreement to end nuclear tests.

MOSCOW
The International Year of Peace was marked by massive demonstrations in the Soviet capital.

MANAGUA
The people of Nicaragua and leaders of the Sandinist National Liberation Front gave a rousing reception to the international Torch of Peace.

NEW YORK
Peace marchers demanded an end to Reagan's "star wars" gambles.

And so the International Year of Peace is ending, but the fight against the threat of war goes on. The peace-loving nations will have to redouble their efforts to ensure that the 21st century will be a century of peace and co-operation.

This is the last instalment of the brief review of the history of anti-war ideas and the struggle for peace. For previous instalments see our issues No. 1, 4, 6, 12, 14, 17, 21, 24, 28, 30, 33, 37, 40, 43, and 50 for this year.

LESSONS OF 1986

No two years are exactly alike, of course. Every year is unique in its own way. But the outgoing year stands out in the march of time as the first year ever to be proclaimed an International Year of Peace. A world experiment of a sort.

In this last issue of the year we would like to remind our readers of the principal peace initiatives of the year. They were all important, but three major events stand out in bold relief.

First, the announcement on January 15 of the Soviet programme for a non-nuclear world, endorsed and amplified at the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

Second, the Reykjavik summit.

Third, the signing of the Delhi declaration.

It has long been realized that the fateful alternative facing mankind today is: either mankind will destroy the nuclear weapon or the nuclear weapon will destroy mankind. In its programme announced on January 15 the Soviet Union offered a positive, practical solution of this problem of the century—the elimination in three stages of nuclear weapons by the beginning of the 21st century. The proposals of the Warsaw Treaty's Budapest meeting for the reduction of conventional armaments were a logical complement to this.

What was most paradoxical was that no one—not even the diehard opponents of disarmament—ventured openly to come out against the elimination of nuclear weapons. All Western politicians, including President Reagan, declared in unison that they, too, stood for a non-nuclear world. But....

How familiar for us that "but" has become! Dozens of Soviet initiatives—and not only Soviet, but also Polish, Swedish and Indian—have throughout the postwar period been rejected on the pious pretext of their being unrealistic. In 1986 the chorus of pseudorealists broke out with new force. What, a world without nuclear weapons? Do away with warheads and dismantle missiles? You must be out of your mind!

Then the unforeseen happened—unforeseen by both sceptics and even optimists: the world found itself on the verge—no, not of catastrophe, but of the realization of the programme for a non-nuclear world.

Recall what the two leaders were about to reach agreement on in Reykjavik. They were of one mind about the need to work for the elimination of nuclear weapons. They were also at one as regards setting a 10-year period for the 50 per cent reduction and, subsequently, the total elimination of the entire so-called strategic triad—strategic ballistic missiles, long-range aircraft and missile-carrying submarines. They found a way to give effect to the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe and to ensure a balance of such missiles in Asia.

The Reykjavik meeting did not produce the desired results, and not through any fault of ours. However, it would not be in the spirit of the International Year of Peace were that meeting to have left no trace. The Soviet package of proposals remains on the negotiating table. This makes Reykjavik a step towards turning the "non-nuclear utopia" into diplomatic practice. It was precisely because of this that the enemies of disarmament went berserk after Reykjavik: there were more nuclear explosions, the ABM Treaty was assailed, the SALT-2 treaty was breached, and new military programmes were endorsed by NATO.

And, finally, the third major event of the International Year of Peace, one that imparted a new dimension to it—the signing of the Delhi declaration by the Soviet Union and India. Though these are two very different countries both as regards social systems and ethico-psychological genesis, they were able to draft a common platform.

The Delhi declaration is a document of great statesmanlike wisdom. Combined with the programme, proclaimed in Vladivostok, for strengthening peace in the Asian and Pacific region, it greatly broadens the front of action for peace. In its ten principles are capsuled the political experience accumulated by both countries. It is also, let us add, an unusual departure in Soviet policy. It goes farther than the objectives set forth in the January 15 programme, for it proclaims the principle not only of a non-nuclear but also a non-violent world. Some sceptic might say: is that not going rather too far in this world of violence?

The answer will be the same as the one we gave to the sceptics after January 15. Yes, the world of today is full of violence. We are as yet very far from a non-nuclear and further still from a non-violent world. However, social movements, including the communist, which was born of the scientific perception of the laws of historical development, can win mass support only if they offer society a positive perspective.

Needless to say, the three events we have mentioned do not exhaust the content and significance of the International Year of Peace. It has been a year of unprecedented activity on the part of the public forces of the planet, who have awakened to their role and their ability to determine the course of political events. This in itself is a momentous feature of 1986. The role of the United Nations as a generator of important ideas and practical measures has heightened.

The events of the International Year of Peace have been of diverse purport. But it would be a mistake to say that it has altogether been unproductive of results, to equate the significance of opposing tendencies. The year 1986 has taught us a great deal. It has taught us to take practical action in defence of peace, that we must not sit back and wait for "better times," that the enemies of disarmament are many, but they are not omnipotent. The year taught us also to stand firm both as regards moving forward along the road to peace and safeguarding the security of the Soviet Union and its allies. This was made abundantly clear by the recent decision of the U.S.S.R. to extend the moratorium on nuclear testing only if the U.S. stops its own tests. The Year of Peace has passed, but the responsibility for preserving the peace has not been removed from the shoulders of mankind. ■

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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Photo by G. Kostenko

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the Soviet tennis star who beat two-time Wimbledon champion Boris Becker on his own ground

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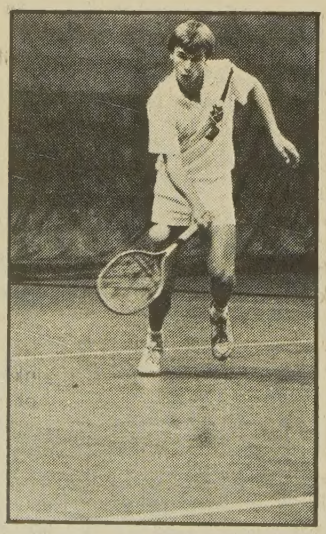

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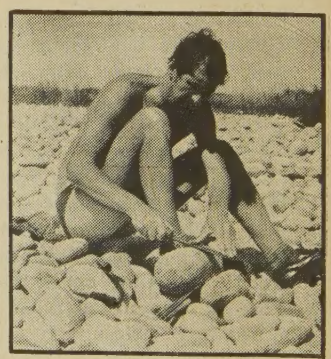

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Editor-in-Chief: VITALY IGNATENKO

Associate Editors: L. BEZYMENSKY, V. CHERNYAVSKY, S. GOLYAKOV, Y. GUDKOV, A. LEBEDEV, A. PIN, B. PISHCHIK, A. PUMPYANSKY, V. TSOPPI

Design by A. GARANIN

Editor of English edition: E. SMIRNOV

We are entering the year 1987. Will it bring us closer to a nuclear-free world?

Topmost Priority

Professor YURI PANKOV

This will not be just another calendar year for the Soviet people and progressives worldwide. It will be the year in which we celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

The revolution that made an indelible impression on the 20th century developed in a difficult and very contradictory international situation. Capitalism took the emergence of socialism as an error of history, which had to be redressed. Redressed at all costs and in any manner without regard to law or morality—by armed intervention, economic blockade, denial of any and all cooperation, and even by subversive activity, sanctions and terror. "But," as the 27th Congress of the Communist Party noted, "nothing could interfere with the consolidation of the new system and its historical right to live."

The world's first socialist state was born under the banner of peace, and one of its first legislative acts was the Decree on Peace drawn up by Lenin. "All our politics and propaganda are directed towards putting an end to war and in no way towards driving nations to war," he wrote. The October Revolution, which provided a classic example of the revolutionary withdrawal of such a large country as Russia from war, also laid genuine foundations for world peace. The Soviet concept of peace dates from November 1917.

A Flexible, Realistic and Principled Approach

Developing Lenin's legacy in the present-day international situation, Mikhail Gorbachev set out at the 27th Party Congress the goals and directions of the Soviet foreign policy strategy. Its basic principles are determined primarily by the country's internal needs, all the more so as its successes in perfecting the new society and social progress as essential to the very existence of mankind are inseparable today from the efforts to safeguard and strengthen peace.

The Soviet peace initiatives and the steady course of the socialist community are pervaded with a sense of historic responsibility for the destiny of our state and the future of socialism and mankind as a whole. Our Party not only advocates but demonstrates in practice an original and innovative approach to international affairs.

Flexibility, realism, readiness to take account of the views of negotiating partners and at the same time a principled stand on major issues and a desire to achieve real progress towards disarmament are the distinguishing features of the Soviet Union's approach. Even when the American side demonstrated its absolute lack of desire for compromise and went back on the accords already reached, Moscow displayed restraint and patience. The Soviet proposals still stand, Mikhail Gorbachev has stressed on more than one occasion.

Socialism and Peace Are Inseparable

The initiatives of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community constitute a realistic basis for the settlement of all disputes and for improved international relations. Even our Western opponents are obliged to admit that the Soviet proposals have no precedent in scale and historical significance.

Few people would argue today that a nuclear conflict is not fraught with the danger of catastrophic consequences for the whole of mankind. World public opinion has hitherto been less aware of another conclusion related to the first: the nature of today's weapons gives no hope to any state of being able to protect itself by military technology alone. Security is first and foremost a political problem and it should be tackled only by political means. It will take the political will of both sides, East and West, to build security on a firm foundation rather than on the fear of retaliation.

It is widely known that the Soviet Union is not laying claim to greater security than that of the United States—but it will not agree to less security either. Genuine political wisdom is not to care exclusively for one's own national interests to the detriment of the other side but to try to ensure that all states feel equally secure.

There is another indisputable political premise in the Soviet concept of peace: attempts to preserve the status quo through power politics and regional wars are senseless in practical terms and jeopardize world peace. The socialist countries and capitalist states, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., differ in their approach to many processes in today's world, especially those in the developing countries. But one principle should be mandatory for all: social, political and ideological contradictions between states must not be resolved by military means. We must learn the science and art of behaving on the international scene with restraint and caution, and live in a civilized manner. There is a need today for a new mode of thinking and a new concept of peace, which would unite peoples rather than divide them on the grounds of their belonging to different social systems.

The concept of war is as old as war itself. The father of history, Herodotus, described the wars between the Hellenes and the barbarians in dozens of books. He considered war to be intrinsic to the human race. The Romans, perhaps, expressed more aptly than anyone the underlying principle of the concept of armed peace which those given to aggression and international diktat still preach today: vis pacem, para bellum (if you wish for peace, be prepared for war).

Down the centuries the foremost thinkers have tried to formulate a concept of peace. The Abbe de Saint-Pierre in his "Project for Perpetual Peace in Europe," Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his "Opinion on Perpetual Peace," Immanuel Kant in his "Eternal Peace" and the Russian thinker Vasily Malinovsky in his "A Discourse on Peace and War"—all drew up plans for "universal fraternity" on Earth. But all their projects boiled down either to noble but idyllic dreams or to a handful of principles for relations between states during brief respites between wars (see Grotius).

1986 YEAR OF PEACE

Towards a world that is safe and nuclear-free.

January. The U.S.S.R. put forward a three-stage programme to deliver the planet from nuclear weapons by the end of the century.

STAGE ONE. In five-eight years, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. to halve their nuclear arms capable of reaching each other's territory and, at the same time, to refrain from developing, testing and deploying space strike weapons and start dismantling intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

STAGE TWO. After 1990, the other nuclear powers to join in the nuclear disarmament process. The tactical nuclear weapons of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. to be frozen, whereupon all nuclear states will eliminate such weapons. The agreement banning space strike weapons to become multilateral. All nuclear tests to be stopped.

STAGE THREE. A universal agreement on the non-revival of nuclear weapons to be reached by the end of the year 1999.

Karl von Clausewitz, the classic military philosopher who still has many admirers in the West, originated the now familiar idea that war is a continuation of policy by other means. Lenin, however, considered this formula a verdict on the old, outgoing society of oppression and war. Socialism has never linked its future with a military solution of international problems. Its ideal is a world without weapons and violence. "Socialists have always condemned wars between nations as barbarous and brutal," Lenin wrote.

Now more than ever mankind is bound to a common destiny: close interdependence and relationship between peoples living in continents far apart have emerged and are rapidly being consolidated. In spite of the ebb and flow of international relations, economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation, as well as that in communications, is tending to grow. The peoples of the world want reliable, assured and inviolable peace.

For Civilized Relations

The nuclear age has made the problem of safeguarding world peace the paramount value in any hierarchy of international values, regardless of the point of departure. This value is inseparable from social progress.

What is the main conclusion logically prompted by the need for a new mode of thinking on problems of war and peace? It seems to be the necessity to embrace a system of international relations based on the principles of peace and cooperation.

Civilized relations are synonymous with active peaceful coexistence. After all, there was negative or passive coexistence, so to speak, even during the cold war. In any case, civilized relations are an improvement even on international détente.

One of the major conclusions of the 27th CPSU Congress on the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is as follows: objective conditions have emerged at the end of the present century in which the confrontation between capitalism and socialism can proceed exclusively in the form of peaceful competition and peaceful rivalry. There is no alternative.

It should be emphasized that peaceful coexistence applies to interstate relations and is not equivalent to class peace, that is, it does not apply to relations between the exploiters and the exploited in capitalist and developing countries.

Communists believe that the class struggle between the two systems, capitalism and socialism, in the economy, politics and, of course, ideology will continue. It cannot be otherwise because the world outlooks and class goals of socialism and capitalism are diametrically opposite. However, this struggle must not erupt into forms fraught with the risk of war, dangerous conflicts and an uncontrolled arms race. This is our conviction.

Yet one cannot help seeing that the world reactionary forces, dreaming of

U.S.S.R.—U.S.A.

Fifth Extension of the Moratorium

● THE GOVERNMENT OF THE U.S.S.R. HAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE FIRST NUCLEAR EXPLOSION CARRIED OUT BY THE UNITED STATES IN THE COMING YEAR WILL TERMINATE THE UNILATERAL SOVIET MORATORIUM ON NUCLEAR TESTING.

The men in Washington like nothing better than to arrogate to themselves the role of patron of all humanity. And they clip political coupons from pious mouthings about their dedication to peace. Today the U.S. Administration has a chance in deeds not words, and not alone but jointly with others, to do mankind a service that will be deeply appreciated by future generations. Namely—a total ban on nuclear tests.

The unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing was something of a shock for Washington. In the quiet precincts of the White House it was seen as a blow to its pride—the present incumbent had sworn time and again that no one was more anxious than he to rid the world of nuclear weapons. Moscow's move was a difficult pill to swallow both for the politicians and for the U.S. public. When the first time limit of the moratorium was running out leaders of anti-war organizations said more time was needed for the persuasive power of the Soviet Union's action to penetrate U.S. public consciousness poisoned by anti-Sovietism. That time was granted in full measure. "We recognize that a year and a half ago one might easily have dismissed the Gorbachev testing moratorium initiative as just one more rhetorical flourish in the standard Soviet peace offensive," U.S. political leaders are now saying. "Such is clearly no longer the case, however."

It is no longer the case because Washington's clumsy arguments about the impossibility of verification have proved groundless. U.S. monitoring equipment has been set up near Semipalatinsk, and Moscow is ready for an international network of control devices and on-the-spot inspection. Also, because the White House has been given an opportunity to save face and agree on a stage-by-stage ban on tests. Because the United Nations organization, the non-aligned movement, the Delhi Six, and the world's parliaments have confirmed that the answer to the Soviet action would not give one-sided advantage for Moscow, but would be a multilateral gain for the whole world.

The introduction at the present time of a moratorium on nuclear testing, given inspection, could lay the groundwork for concluding a treaty with the Soviet Union that would put an end once and for all to all nuclear tests, says a message addressed to Reagan by more than 130 members of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress, whose duty it is, no less than the President's, to guard U.S. national security. They urge the President to act at once and give the signal to the world that the United States is sincerely interested in putting an end to all nuclear tests.

There is no other alternative. If nuclear testing is not stopped, the new types and systems of nuclear weapons that are bound to appear will be increasingly destructive and dangerous, which will finally bring both countries closer to the brink of nuclear war. This, too, is the opinion of an American Thomas Cochran, a leader of the Natural Resources Defence Council.

So far the White House has not heeded the voice of

Continued on p. 10.

social revenge, are of a different mind. Richard Stevenson, a British student of contemporary international relations, analyzing the foreign policy of the U.S. Republican Administration in his book "The Rise and Fall of Détente," writes that in an attempt to regain and strengthen its might and position vis-à-vis the Soviet Union American policy is becoming increasingly less compliant and more confrontational. He draws the very important conclusion that the goal of world leadership does not contribute to the revival of détente.

Contradictory but Interdependent World

The inconsistency and unpredictability of U.S. foreign policy is especially glaring in the U.S. approach to the problems of coexistence between the two systems. One administration undoes what has been achieved by another. The U.S. really is a very difficult partner in promoting peace, as the Reykjavik summit demonstrated.

We have no illusions. The Soviet Union is fully aware that the two worlds—the world of socialism, born of the October Revolution, and the world of capitalism—are deeply divided. But the need to tackle the vital tasks of the whole of mankind should prompt them to cooperate and awaken in them unprecedented energies for human self-preservation.

The aggressive encroachments of reactionary militarist forces are being countered with a strong potential of peace and social progress—the socialist countries, the international communist and working-class movement, the emergent nations and broad democratic and peace movements. Realistic-minded leaders in capitalist countries also stand for relations conducive to peace on Earth.

The course of history and social progress is ever more imperatively demanding constructive cooperation between states and peoples on a worldwide scale. Moreover, the appropriate political, social and material preconditions are emerging for such cooperation.

This cooperation is needed to avert nuclear catastrophe and enable civilization to survive. It is needed to resolve, jointly and in the common interest, other global problems, which are being exacerbated. A combination of competition and peaceful confrontation between the two systems and the growing interdependence of the states in the world community constitute the dialectics of development today. The Soviet concept of peace is based on the understanding that, as the 27th Congress of the CPSU noted, a controversial but interdependent and in many ways integral world is taking shape through the struggle of opposites, through arduous effort, groping in the dark to some extent, and that conditions for human survival are emerging today. That is why this concept is winning ever more supporters in various parts of the world.

■

WILLY BRANDT, the chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, has authorized New Times to publish some excerpts from his new book, "Organized Madness," and has written a foreword for our readers.

Guns, Famine and Water Lilies

The latest tide of famine to sweep the African continent has been almost forgotten. But although a programme for the development of Africa, recently approved by a session of the U.N. General Assembly in New York, has won universal support, the crisis continues to grow everywhere and organized madness reigns supreme: abysmal misery coexists side by side with irresponsible spending on ever new rounds of the global arms race.

I am happy for readers of New Times to hear some of my ideas. I want to tell you that the situation is not hopeless. I believe Europe must make a special contribution to overcoming the old mode of thinking and to a transition from confrontation to cooperation.

There is one more important aspect to the policy of peace—it is a development policy. Impediments to development bring about mass poverty, chaos and conflicts. and they will not be confined to the regions affected immediately and earlier than the others.

Mankind is making increasingly rapid progress in many areas. Solutions have been found to problems that were once considered insoluble. It is only in interstate relations that we see no progress—rather, the reverse is true. If states redoubled their efforts and used the opportunities available to a greater extent, we would, I believe, achieve success in our war on hunger and malnutrition, in disarmament and reductions in military spending, and building a world that will give us more security, justice and solidarity.

Willy BRANDT
Bonn, December 1986

It is commonly believed that the most dangerous weapons never go off on their own. I would not take this for granted. In no other period in history have such extensive and ramified preparations for war been conducted.

The constant talk to the effect that nuclear weapons will never be used because their only purpose is to provide mutual deterrence is not reassuring either. This philosophy does not take account of possible human and technological errors. And why should we believe that the constantly growing potential for destruction can render the actual use of weapons of mass annihilation senseless?

Another reminder of this potential is in order. When the Geneva missile talks fell through in the autumn of 1983, experts estimated that the two superpowers had stockpiled between them about 40,000 (or even 50,000) items of nuclear weaponry. These arsenals are equivalent to one million Hiroshima bombs. Specialists have never agreed how many times over everyone on Earth could be killed—six, seven or eight. The consensus was, however, that the arms buildup had generated a danger without precedent.

We should bear in mind the following:

—the growing militarization of developing countries leads to growing instability;

—a new threat will be created by the consequences of an incipient arms race in outer space;

—scientists have no doubts that a "nuclear winter" will engulf the Northern Hemisphere following the use of atomic weapons. Food supplies will be disrupted, economic, transport and health care systems paralyzed and many animal and plant species wiped out. This will happen not only in the immediate path of the nuclear hurricane, but also on other continents. Though I will not say so for certain, man will probably share the fate of those species obliterated by the "nuclear winter";

—a study carried out for the Pentagon has found that the use of nuclear weapons in an East-West conflict would bring about a prolonged drop in the temperature of about 25 degrees;

—other studies show that the "winter effect" could be caused even by a limited nuclear war and vast areas of our Earth will be hit by famine as a result. Only very few forms of life, such as grass and seabed worms, will survive nuclear war.

I have no doubt that mankind, political leaders in the East, West and South included, **wishes** to survive. But this does not mean that they **will.** Peace is not a condition with which we are endowed by Nature. It must be built up and strengthened. This could be the aim of all our philosophies and world outlooks, but to claim that such a coincidence of purpose can avert war is to fly in the face of historical practice and our knowledge of human nature.

When we argue about the dangers facing the world, we forget that we are living in peace in the midst of war. More than 120 armed conflicts have broken out in the Third World since 1945 and claimed millions of lives; most of them have involved outside intervention. All of them are an extension of conventional warfare.

No one today would try to reject the conclusion, not very novel to many of us, that nuclear war could end in the self-destruction of mankind. Yet the idea that the Earth could become an uninhabitable desert is new.

Total war will lead to total annihilation. The task facing each of us today is to avert it. However, in the past few years, the political leaders of the Western alliance have barely touched on the subject of war and peace in their confidential summit talks.

Protestations of readiness to safeguard peace, however frequent, are not enough. Signs of peaceable intent in the situation in which the great powers have now found themselves are at best manifestations of friendliness. In reality, however, they fall far behind the demands of the time. We need a balanced policy that will mobilize our forces and willpower, a policy that will be able theoretically and practically to strengthen peace and make it inviolable.

The demands for a nuclear freeze, formulated in the recent period, are a step in the right direction. This means a strictly defined and verifiable end to the testing of new types of nuclear weapon and their delivery vehicles, along with a simultaneous halt in the deployment of nuclear weapon systems, as formulated by the Palme Commission in December 1984. Similar goals are set forth in the initiative of four continents, the representatives of which in New Delhi in January 1985 demanded a halt to the introduction of nuclear weapons to outer space.

The idea that peace, now facing mortal danger, can only be preserved in cooperation with the potential enemy and that the seemingly irreplaceable balance of fear should be supplanted by a concept of **joint** security is winning supporters too slowly. Undoubtedly, it will require a new mode of thinking to build a balance of reason because this idea runs counter to everything that most people and their leaders believe they have been taught.

The question of the efficacy (of the concept of deterrence—**Ed.**) was raised first and foremost in Europe. The point was whether it was worth defending what would be destroyed in war. Proposals were made that could lead through an intermediate stage—equal reductions in the deterrence potential of both sides—to joint security.

Statesmen should have an interest in ways of pursuing a policy of security provided total deterrence is renounced, and get others interested in them. Serious dialogue calls for a **political** approach. Lasting security can only be achieved through political thinking and action that take the security interests of both sides into account and do whatever possible to strengthen security. Any serious step needlessly detracting from the security of the potential enemy is a step back, and brings with it new problems.

Lasting security cannot be achieved by one side through the build-up of weapons detracting from the security of the **other** side. Developments over the past 30, 10 or 5 years have shown that neither side, sticking to its positions of confrontation and the arms race, will feel secure, whatever efforts it makes, if the security of the other side is constantly declining.

Dialogue should be based on recognition of the fact that the world is dominated by a need for coexistence and that the building of joint security is more important than debates on indisputable ideological differences. These differences should be no hindrance to our cooperation.

The dangers looming over world peace have not diminished. Conversely, they have increased for various reasons which are hard to analyze: the East-West conflict and North-South differences have become an intricate tangle. In a lecture on peaceful coexistence at Harvard University a quarter of a century ago, I said that the East-West conflict was being overburdened by North-South contradictions and that we could reach a point where the North-South conflict would blot out the East-West dispute. We have not yet reached that point. But we see for the umpteenth time that great power ambitions continue to pose the greatest threat to world peace. Undoubtedly, the danger continues to grow that the East-West conflict could exert an adverse effect on the Third World and involve developing countries in the arms race. What is worse, many of the latter are all too willing to let themselves become involved in these dangerous games.

The militarization of the Third World is not only a result of outside influence. A substantial role is played in the establishment of military regimes by socio-political problems. Yet those regimes are usually unable to settle socio-political and economic problems.

The militarization of the Third World is being stimulated by arms exports, known as "military aid to developing countries," flowing in a broad stream from industrialized states, particularly the superpowers.

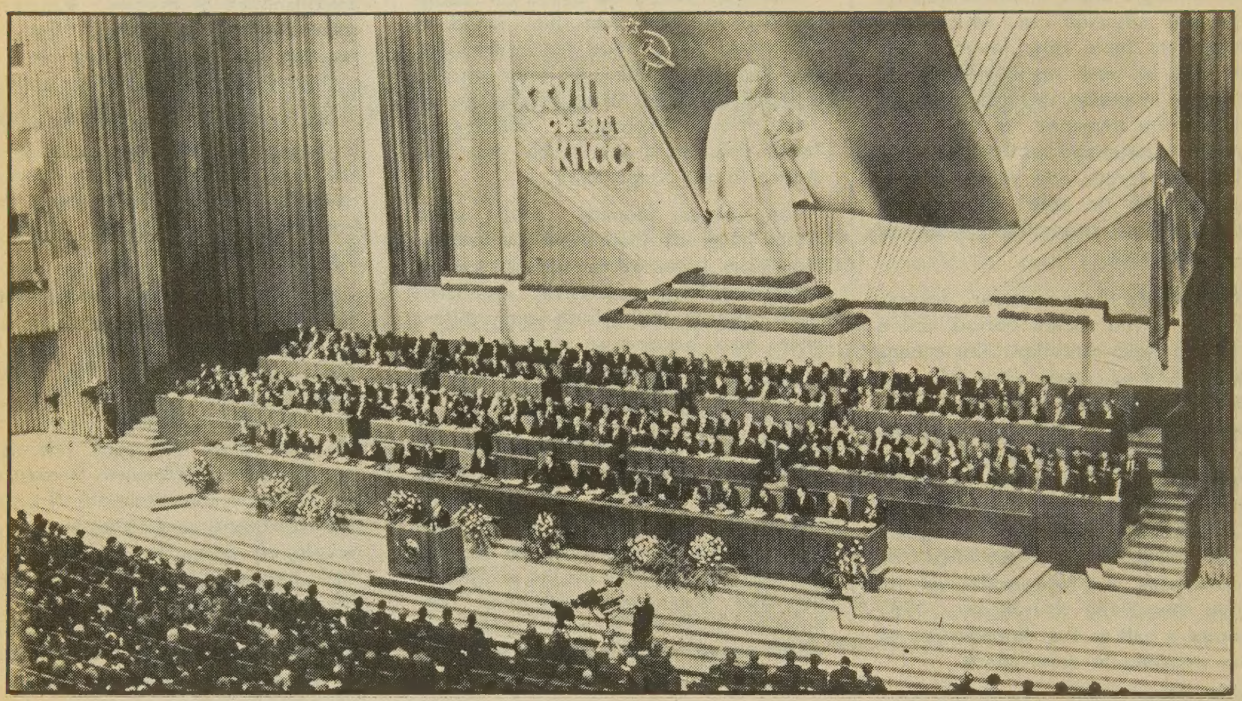
The realization has not yet sunk in that the escalation of armaments will not make the world a safer place but rather shatter it. Most Third World leaders do not understand this either. On the contrary, arms arsenals continue to grow in many developing countries and this growth is most often prompted by considerations of prestige. We Europeans and people in other developed countries should stop to think before voicing our indignation. We ourselves have set far from the best example to the Third World. Moreover, most of the colonial powers left behind the germs of new conflicts along with

Willy Brandt (real name Herbert Frahm) was born in 1913. After graduating from a secondary school, he worked on the newspaper Lübecker Volksbote. He joined the Social Democratic movement of Germany in his youth and became a member of the Social Democratic Party in 1930. When the nazis seized power in 1933, Willy Brandt emigrated to Norway and then moved to Sweden, where he continued to work as a journalist.

In 1945 he returned to Germany and became involved in politics. Between 1957 and 1966 he was mayor of West Berlin and between 1966 and 1969 Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister of the government of the so-called Grand Coalition, which included the Christian Democratic Union, the Christian Social Union and the Social Democratic Party of Germany. From 1969 to 1974 Willy Brandt was the Federal Chancellor of the government of the Social Democrats and Free Democrats. In 1971 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. He has been chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany since 1964. He is also President of the Socialist International.

Willy Brandt has three sons and a daughter.

1986 YEAR OF PEACE



Towards a world that is safe and nuclear-free. February. The 27th CPSU Congress worked out the principles to underlie an all-embracing system of international security in the military, political, economic and humanitarian fields.

old problems. Not only arms corporations but also governments have been active in the deadly trafficking of arms.

The world spent about a trillion dollars for military purposes in 1985. Aid to the developing countries, according to the figures of international organizations, was less than 5 per cent of that gigantic sum. Why not channel at least five per cent of that money—one twentieth of the world's arms spending—into a war on famine, and into economic cooperation, supplementing the aid now given to the developing countries. (Five years ago an estimate was made of what can be achieved with a mere 0.5 per cent: that money could buy enough farm technology for most of the underdeveloped countries to boost their farm production within 10 years to achieve self-sufficiency in food.)

A few years ago I drew several comparisons which are still relevant:

—the money spent on armaments in half a day would be enough to finance the World Health Organization's malaria control programme;

—the cost of a modern tank is enough to improve the storage conditions for 100,000 tons of rice and save at least 4,000 tons of rice from spoilage every year—a daily ration for 8 million people;

—the same money is enough to build schools for 30,000 children;

—the cost of one new plane could equip 40,000 rural pharmacies;

—the cost of one new atomic submarine is equivalent to the spending on education of 23 developing countries with a school-going population of 160 million.

It amazes me that even banking interests openly say that the general crisis can only be overcome by ending the arms race. This relationship between the arms race and the world economy, felt intuitively, should be thoroughly explained scientifically. Yet sensible people understand as it is that the arms race is devouring the public wealth so needed to meet other demands. Scientific analysis will undoubtedly corroborate this fact.

* * *

Time is running out. Figuratively speaking, it is the eleventh hour. I am afraid it is so. That is why I will remind you of a well-known French riddle. A single leaf appeared in a pond overgrown with water lilies. The number of leaves doubles every day: there will be two leaves on the second day, four on the third, eight on the fourth and so on. Question: if the leaves fill the entire pond on the 30th day, when will it be half filled? Answer: on the 29th.

■

No Turning Back

MIKHAIL SHATROV
Secretary of the Union of Soviet Writers

For me the concepts of democracy and socialism are inseparable.

In 1957, when I was a very young playwright, I met Yelena Stasova, a comrade-in-arms and close friend of Lenin. She told me that at difficult moments, when an optimal solution to a problem could not be found, Lenin would say: "Let's consult with the people, the workers, I assure you they will find solutions that we in our offices could not even dream of. Just give them the chance."

"Not everyone will welcome that opportunity," he was told.

"We won't listen to them," Lenin smiled. "Nor to those who take every word on faith so long as it comes from someone higher-up. Or to those who can act against their conscience."

Opportunities. Will people make use of them or will they not? These are two facets of the problem that exercises us all today. It was these thoughts that occupied my mind as I mounted the rostrum at the founding conference of the national Theatre Workers' Union in the Grand Kremlin Palace on December 6, 1986.

* * *

The genesis of the new union is noteworthy. The 27th Congress of the CPSU advanced a far-reaching programme of democratic reform envisaging, among other things, a fundamentally new role for associations of creative workers. The mechanism of meaningful interaction between state administrative bodies and public organizations, specifically associations in the creative arts, had to be worked out; a mechanism which, in the case of the theatre, would make it possible for theatrical workers to participate on an equal footing with state cultural bodies in directing progress in this sphere.

The formula for this interaction did not emerge overnight. It was evolved in the course of discussions in which answers were sought to questions posed by experience, which does not tolerate stereotypes and falsity. And, ultimately, the kind of association theatre workers had long yearned for came into being. What must now be done is to see to it that in the theatre world, too, the restructuring is irreversible.

* * *

That there should be no turning back is the prime concern of all of us, the subject of our constant thought. What can we theatre people do to contribute to the process of revolutionary transformation in society, not only upholding but speeding this process? For it is no secret that today formalism and mistrust, mental inertia and apathy are assailing the process of restructuring. We know only too well how tenacious is the bureaucrat, how quickly he adapts to circumstances, instantly switching over to lip service to the new in order to preserve the old.

I am absolutely convinced that the roots of many of the most pressing problems of today lie in the past, when the democratic principles of our life were distorted. We have paid a heavy price for this departure from the ideals of the October Revolution, among other things in terms of the spread of the "small cog" mentality, a bystander attitude to the common cause. Mismanagement, alcoholism, the appearance of a whole army of "bosses" who still want to think for the masses and decide for and on behalf of the masses—all have the same roots. And the same applies to the panegyrist and the timeserver for whom it is immaterial what they write so long as it wins them approbation.

What gigantic potential the October Revolution possessed to enable it to withstand all this and build up the country, hold its own in war, attain its present level and win the position it holds in the world today. Our country's capacity for self-analysis, the ability to correct its course—that too derives from the October Revolution.

* * *

The spring of 1985 saw the beginning of a grand battle for an idea—the need and possibility of democratic renewal, a battle for unswerving dedication to the ideals of the October Revolution.

I sincerely envy the playwrights of the future who will speak of this momentous page in our history, and pay due tribute to the political leaders who called things by their proper names and rallied the Party to the task of restructuring, cleansing the Soviet house of all that was hidebound and alien.

Leo Tolstoy wrote in one of his articles: "We say—why remember?.... why remember the old? It does not exist any more... Why recall it to mind? Why irritate the people?... Why indeed remember? If I had a severe or dangerous illness and I was cured or rid of it, I should always recall it with pleasure. Only if the illness persisted and got worse and I wanted to deceive myself would I put it out of my mind."

Since the spring of 1985 we have looked forward to each successive day with hope, though some, to tell the truth, have had the thought: what if all this were suddenly to end? But the process of restructuring continues. Nothing is being turned into a mere campaign. On the contrary, everything is proceeding with remarkable consistency, winning ever new bridgeheads for the democratic renewal of society. And it is our bounden duty, the duty of every one of us to do everything in our power to allow no impediments in this historic process.

The guarantee that there will be no turning back is the free, spiritually emancipated man who takes nothing on faith, will not say a word that conflicts with the dictates of his conscience, is not afraid to admit that there are difficulties, and will shrink from no fight, however bitter, if the goal is worth the having. This is the battlefield for art and literature, whose mission it is, in the words of Alexander Herzen, to swell the ranks of free-thinking, active people dedicated to their mother country. This is the true social mission of the theatre people. This is the programme that should unite all of us and inspire us to new achievements. ■

NGUYEN VAN LINH

General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam

On December 18 the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam completed its deliberations. The first plenary meeting of the newly-constituted Central Committee of the Party elected Nguyen Van Linh General Secretary.

Nguyen Van Linh was born in 1915 in Hanoi. Beginning with 1929 he took part in the revolutionary and national liberation movement. He was arrested and imprisoned many times by the colonial authorities. He joined the Communist Party in 1936 and in 1939 was sent by the Party's Central Committee for underground work in Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City). In 1940 he was transferred to work in the Party committee of Central Vietnam. In 1941 he was imprisoned on Con Dao Island.

Released in 1945 in the course of the August revolution, he returned to work in Saigon, where he was elected member of the Party Committee of South Vietnam. Between 1956 and 1960 he held the post of acting secretary and from 1960, deputy secretary of the South Vietnam bureau of the Central Committee.

After the liberation of South Vietnam, Nguyen Van Linh was secretary of the Ho Chi Minh City committee of the CPV. In 1976-80 he held the post of chairman of the executive of the Vietnam General Federation of Trade Unions. Between 1981 and 1985 he was again secretary of the Ho Chi Minh City committee of the CPV.

At the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th congresses of the CPV he was elected to the Party's Central Committee. The 4th Congress elected him member of the Political Bureau. Since June 1985 he has been a member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee.

Nguyen Van Linh had been decorated with orders and medals of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Continued from p. 5.

reason. From Nevada thunder more and more of the explosions (the next is scheduled for January 29) that induced the Soviet government to take the difficult decision to resume testing. One can already visualize the smug looks on the faces of the President's advisers as they prompt the "independent" press to ask the demagogic question: is this moral? Let us put the question differently. Is it moral to stand idly by and wait while ever more deadly nuclear weapons are developed? When a cosmic club is being held over the world, an instrument for subordinating not only Moscow but the entire planet to Washington's will?

The step taken by the Soviet government is a forced step but not definitive. Moscow is again proposing that negotiations on the complete elimination of nuclear weapons of all kinds be started at once at any level. It is proposing that agreements be reached on the forms of verification of observance of such a moratorium. If the United States takes time to reach the decision to end testing, Moscow is ready any day, any month, on the basis of reciprocity, to halt its own programme.

The Soviet moratorium expires on January 1, 1987. The government of the U.S.S.R. has extended it until the first U.S. nuclear test in the new year. The American Administration has one more chance to give serious thought to the concepts of "humanism" and "the future" it has depreciated. But this is the last chance.

A. ARKHIPOV

GREECE

Five-Continent Conference

● THE FIVE-CONTINENT CONFERENCE ON PEACE AND DISARMAMENT HAS JUST ENDED IN ATHENS.

The Christmas spirit reigns in the Greek capital these days. Thousands of silvery lights outline the Christmas trees in downtown Athens and holiday bazaars are on every hand. The streets are festooned with garlands of tinsel and glittering glass ornaments and the shopwindows are ablaze with colourful baubles, a variety of attractive toys and brightly clad Santas.

Athenians are wishing one another good health, happiness, joy and peace, and these wishes are extended also to us, members of the Soviet Peace Committee delegation here to attend the Five-Continent Conference on Peace and Disarmament.

"As a military man I am keenly aware of how calamitous a world war would be for our continent," General (ret.) Giorgos Koumanakos, an activist of the Greek Movement for National Independence, World Peace and Disarmament (KEADEA), told your correspondent. "For me the fight for peace and against the war danger is a very real fight against a very real evil. That is why I am here," he said. General Koumanakos chaired the meeting of one of the 15 working groups at this representative forum of anti-war movements, which devoted itself to discussing the Five-Continent Peace Initiative and Peace Movement.

"In advancing the proposal to hold the present conference in Athens," the general said, "we Greeks wished to make our contribution to the International Year of Peace proclaimed by the United Nations, the year which, in our opinion, should see the beginning of deep-going changes in the international arena, the beginning of the deliverance of mankind from the threat of nuclear catastrophe and total annihilation. And I am glad that our conference has turned out to be an important landmark on the road to the noble aim of human salvation."

Everyone I spoke with at the conference stressed the significance of the Athens meet in stimulating and broadening the front of the fight for peace, for coordinating the efforts of the peace-minded forces of our planet. Representatives of 87 peace movements from forty countries met in the Zappeion exhibition centre where all important international meetings and political rallies in Athens are held—parliamentarians and prominent public figures, scientists and writers, representing a wide variety of parties and groups holding diverse and sometimes even diametrically opposed political views. However, in the face of the common peril—a nuclear holocaust—a common language was found. And at meetings of the working committees all were of one mind that people must learn to

waive their differences for the sake of preserving life on Earth.

This is not to say that the atmosphere at the conference was one of complacency and complete accord on all issues. Presented for discussion at both plenary meetings and in the working groups were some of the most urgent and vital problems of our time: a total ban on nuclear tests and control of the observance of the ban; the fight against the militarization of outer space and the prohibition of chemical weapons; the establishment of nuclear-free zones and the role of nuclear power for security and development; the danger to peace of regional conflicts and international terrorism; the interconnection between the fight for peace and the political processes of today, and international cooperation in the matter of disarmament and development.

Examination of such complex and pressing problems naturally gave rise to sharp debate and clash of opinions. But no matter how heated the discussions, they invariably ended in satisfaction on both sides in the knowledge that a better understanding of one another's positions had been gained and points of contact found. An appeal for new political thinking and a new approach to the fundamental issues of our time was made by the Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou who opened the conference. He spoke of the need to rule out armed conflicts as a means of resolving international problems, and to bar the way for all time to nuclear war. Speaking as a representative of the Delhi Six (Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania), the Prime Minister paid high tribute to the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests and urged President Reagan to follow this example. At the same time Papandreou voiced alarm over the danger of militarization of outer space, and of the continuing nuclear arms race which leads to the further buildup of the already huge nuclear arsenals.

In an impressive address, the head of the Soviet delegation Valentina Shevchenko, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and Chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, reminded the conference of the important peace initiatives advanced by the Soviet Union.

"The Delhi declaration, signed on November 27 by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the Prime Minister of India, gives us new hope for a nonviolent world free of nuclear weapons," she said to loud applause from the thousands of Athenians present at the opening of the conference in the Athens Peace and Friendship Stadium. A similarly enthusiastic response was evoked by her reading of the message from the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, to the Parliaments and Peoples of the World.

It must be said that throughout the conference the Soviet peace policy and peace initiatives met with full understanding and support. At the same time, the urgent need for resolute measures to elicit a positive response to these initiatives from the U.S. Administration was stressed. Representatives of American pacifist movements in particular urged that immediate action be taken in this matter. Much emphasis was placed on the need to get France and Britain, which also bear a great responsibility for averting the nuclear threat and preserving peace on Earth, to join the moratorium.

Speaking of the Soviet initiative, a recurrent theme in the speeches at the conference was: "The ball is now in the American court."

This is more timely than ever.

E. KORSHUNOV
our special correspondent

Athens

MIDDLE EAST

West Bank Seething

● NOT ONE YEAR IN THE 19 THAT ISRAEL HAS OCCUPIED JORDAN WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP HAS ENDED PEACEFULLY.

How could it be otherwise, given that the Arabs want to see their territories rid of the occupationists and are fighting them vigorously?

Once again, as 1986 draws to a close, the Arab population of West Bank Jordan and the Gaza Strip is in ferment. News agencies report mass demonstrations in Nablus, Ramallah, Beit Lahm and Tulkarm. Popular action has brought life to a virtual standstill in the refugee camps of Blata and Al-Doheisha. This month has seen a surging tide of Arab resistance, including a general strike, mass demonstrations and clashes with troops. Currently the Arabs are demonstrating for the immediate cessation of reprisals and the release of all who have been jailed.

The occupation forces are making short shrift of Arab patriots; they have killed four, wounded 25 and arrested a large number of them in the latest punitive operations.

Israeli reinforcements have been rushed in to carry out reprisals against the Palestinians. The Blata and Al-Doheisha camps have been cordoned off and inside them houses are being bulldozed and searched, while more arrests are made. It should be noted that, according to the occupation order, no judicial authorization is required to enter an Arab home.

The Gaza Strip, December. A demonstration against the Israeli occupation.

Reuters—TASS photo

Is there any possibility of peace coming to the occupied territories in 1987?

The answer is furnished by Israel's new Prime Minister, Itzhak Shamir, who, on taking office in October, stated that Israeli colonization of the occupied Arab territories would represent one of the main elements in his government's platform. This means that more and more Israeli settlements will be established on Arab soil. After a visit to one such settlement, he assured its inhabitants that in 1988, 100,000 Israelis would be living in West Bank Jordan; there are already 60,000 there.

Small wonder the Palestinian Arabs are continuing their

struggle for liberation. Not long ago, West Bank-born Professor Mohammed Shadid, now a U.S. citizen, polled the Arab population and found that 93 per cent in the occupied territories back the Palestine Liberation Organization, which Tel Aviv has outlawed. For making this public, he was deported from Israel. Towards the close of this month, Akram Hania, publisher of the East Jerusalem newspaper Al-Shaab, was deported for similar reasons.

However, it is hopeless to try to silence all who seek to paint a true picture of the position of the Arab population in the occupied territories. Equally futile are Tel Aviv's efforts to take the steam out of the Palestine Resistance movement by resorting to repression and various ruses.

D. ZGERSKY

CENTRAL AMERICA

Such Different Presents

● ALL THOSE DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT IN CENTRAL AMERICA ARE CALLED UPON TO REFRAIN FROM THE USE OF FORCE OR ANY OTHER MEASURES THAT COULD AGGRAVATE THE SITUATION.

This call was issued by a conference of the Foreign Ministers of the eight Latin American countries comprising the Contadora Group (Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico, Panama) and the Contadora Support Group (Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Uruguay). The conference, held in Rio de Janeiro in mid-December, urged the United States to stop its financial and other support for the anti-Nicaraguan contras, who are being used by Washington as tools in its aggressive war against Sandinist Nicaragua, with the undisguised aim of overthrowing the country's lawful government.

The conference decided to send a new peace-making mission to Central America which is to include the secretaries-general of the United Nations and the Organization of American States.

It is now especially important to step up the effort towards a fair political settlement of the crisis in the region. After all, it is not only the U.S. that has for many years been torpedoing any attempts to reach agreement on disputed issues, and intensifying subversive operations against Nicaragua all along the line. Honduras, Costa Rica and El Salvador recently withdrew from the Contadora process under obvious pressure from Washington.

Meanwhile these countries —Honduras in particular— cannot wait to be rid of the contras, who have entrenched themselves there. The "guests" behave like bandits and their actions can get those who have given them refuge into trouble. President José Azcona Hoyo of Honduras has officially requested the U.S. to get the contras out of his country. It is reported from Tegucigalpa that Washington has consented to do so. But where are thousands of cutthroats to go? To the U.S.? Nobody wants them there. The U.S. Administration regards them merely as mercenaries to be used in bandit operations against the progressive Nicaraguan regime. To arm and equip them, the United States is using the hundred million dollars officially allocated for the purpose by Congress, plus millions more unsanctioned by Congress or given in violation of U.S. laws generally.

It has been decided, at last, to move the contras to— would you believe—Nicaragua! That is, effectively to launch a full-scale offensive against the country.

"Are you apprehensive of an American invasion?" President Daniel Ortega was asked by a Stern (F.R.G.) correspondent in an interview appearing in the December 18, 1986, issue.

"I have been so for years, but now the danger is more imminent than ever," was the reply.

So the republic is, of necessity, strengthening its defence potential. At the same time, Managua is demonstrating its striving for a peaceful settlement by acts of good will. On the motion of President Daniel Ortega, on December 17 the Nicaraguan National Assembly revoked the sentence of 30 years' imprisonment passed on the American Eugene Hasenfus—a member of the crew of the plane shot down while carrying a consignment of arms to the contras. Hasenfus is now back home in Wisconsin.

"This is a Christmas and New Year gift to the American people from the Nicaraguans," Daniel Ortega said. "We hope and believe that our gesture will contribute to peace. We appeal to Mr Reagan's conscience, and ask him to reconsider the policy he is pursuing."

Unfortunately, the U.S. Administration is demonstrating —Christmas or no Christmas— its hostility towards the people of Nicaragua to an ever greater extent.

A. USVATOV

CHAD

Renewed Fighting

● ON DECEMBER 16, TWO FRENCH AIR FORCE TRANS-ALL TRANSPORTS PARACHUTED MUNITIONS, FUEL AND FOOD INTO THE CHAD DISTRICT OF TIBESTI.

The said area is north of the red line drawn by the French army command during its 1983 intervention. Arbitrarily following the 16th parallel, this line divided the country in two. The south is controlled by President Hissène Habré's government based in the capital of N'Djamena, the north by the Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU), headed until recently by Goukouni Oueddei.

Both in 1983 and subsequently, the French authorities declared time and again that their armed forces would not cross the red line. They have now broken that promise.

The French air force operation would seem to have heralded renewed hostilities in Chad. On December 21 the Lybian JANA information agency reported that troops from N'Djamena had crossed the 16th parallel and attacked TGNU formations, while French aircraft had bombed their positions and arms depots.

The French decision to cross the red line was taken shortly after the latest Franco-African summit in Lomé, Togo, to which Habré had also been invited. Meeting with French President François Mitterrand and Premier Jacques Chirac, he demanded stepped-up arms deliveries from France and its support for N'Djamena troop operations in Northern Chad. He gave assurances that the present moment was

opportune, because of the "split" in TGNU.

The leaders of TGNU's seven military and political groupings met almost concurrently with the Lomé summit in Cotonou, Benin. They decided to reorganize the government, dismiss Queddei, the leader of the People's Armed Forces, who had entered into collusion with Habré, and appoint in his stead Acheik Ibn Oumar, leader of the Revolutionary Democratic Council. A splinter group from among Oueddei's supporters took refuge in the Tibesti highlands, and it was they who received the munitions and food parachuted by the French.

France's leaders have promised to increase military deliveries to N'Djamena. As for Habré's second demand, according to Le Monde of Paris, they said the "question would be studied." At a news conference in Lomé later, Habré intimated that if France failed to support his troops he would appeal to the U.S. for aid. It should be noted that U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, James Bishop, with whom the Chad President was in contact, was in Lomé at the time. France clearly disliked the idea of direct U.S. military intervention in Chad, which it continues to regard as its own sphere of influence. Yet this intervention is on the increase, with Washington announcing that it will give N'Djamena $15 million worth of arms. More U.S. military advisers are also to go there.

To justify its intervention, France fell back on the dubious claim that after Oueddei's supporters—incidentally by no means all—had broken away from TGNU, this government supposedly no longer existed and the fighting in Chad was therefore no longer between Chadeans, but between "the people of Chad and an aggressor," allegedly Libya. This, Paris intimated, supposedly entitles it to take part in the military operations there. The U.S. is also sustaining this pretext to exploit the Chad situation in order to be able to strike at Libya by land as well as from the sea.

Tripoli categorically refutes fabrications of Libyan involvement in the events in Chad. It says that forces hostile to the people of Libya, in particular the U.S. Administration, are responsible for the misinformation campaign.

Y. BOCHKARYOV

1986 YEAR OF PEACE

Towards a world that is safe and nuclear-free. June. The conference of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee in Budapest suggested to NATO a radical—by a million men—reduction of the confronting armies over the area from the Atlantic to the Urals, with tactical nuclear arms to be reduced simultaneously with conventional ones.

General de Gaulle called for a peaceful Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. Now the Soviet Union has proposed a nuclear-weapon-free Europe from the Urals to the Atlantic. How has Paris reacted?

Echo of Mururoa in the Palais Bourbon

At 18:02 on Wednesday, November 12, seismographs in New Zealand registered a nuclear blast under a Mururoa atoll lagoon as France exploded its fourth bomb this year. At exactly the same time French Defence Minister André Giraud was presenting the country's military budget for next year to the National Assembly in the Palais Bourbon.

The coincidence is more than merely symbolic. The coming year will see the first stage of a new, five-year programme for military buildup which, before being endorsed by parliament, had already been approved by the government with the consent of the President. Most important, however, is the fact that allocations to the Defence Ministry for 1987 show that French military policy runs counter to the imperatives of the time and the logic of disarmament. Moreover, the masterminds behind the "renovated doctrine" are quite outspoken about their negative attitude to the prospect of a nuclear-free Europe, and this is a step back from what they declared only recently.

The priorities of the new programme, which will cost 474 billion francs, are the modernization of the nuclear triad and launching the production of chemical weapons.

The underlying doctrine is based on the old concept of "nuclear deterrence" and honouring the country's commitments as a member of NATO's political organization. With regard to Europe, the "privileged character" of military cooperation with the F.R.G. is emphasized.

To provide backing for this course, NATO's long-discredited postulate, according to which the Warsaw Treaty states enjoy military superiority in Europe, was trotted out. Under the circumstances, goes the reasoning of the Atlantic alliance, the expansion of military cooperation with the United States is a necessary expedient. It should be noted that the general section of the programme, involving what amounts to no commitments at all, speaks of the country being in favour of the Soviet Union and the United States reducing their nuclear arsenals. One might infer that only after this is done will France give thought to whether or not it should join the process of nuclear disarmament.

The draft military programme was made public and the parliamentary debate on the military budget for 1987 took place after Reykjavik. This lent poignancy to the debate and threw more light on the positions of major political parties and leading politicians. The inevitable impression is that Reykjavik caused confusion in some quarters. André Giraud, who sought the endorsement of next year's military budget, expressed his dissatisfaction in the following words: "Can you imagine a Western Europe that relied solely on strategic weapons deployed on U.S. territory?" In his view, "the direction negotiations in Reykjavik took is cause for the most serious alarm." Comment on the summit by Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond was also couched in alarmist terms. For him the projects under discussion were "redoubtable" as the "total disappearance" of nuclear arms from Europe would be "regrettable" for the Atlantic alliance and "weaken the security of our continent."

Prime Minister Jacques Chirac added some nuances. "The Soviet Union," he said, "tried to use its presentation of the conclusions [of the Reykjavik summit—V.T.] as a means of psychological pressure on the West. But we are not going to give in. I would only say that Europe must be vigilant so as not to fall victim to the accord between the two great powers. This means keeping an eye on everything that could lead to 'decoupling' [Western] Europe from the United States in defence matters. In particular, this applies to the 'zero option,'" he stressed, adding that he viewed it "with reservation."

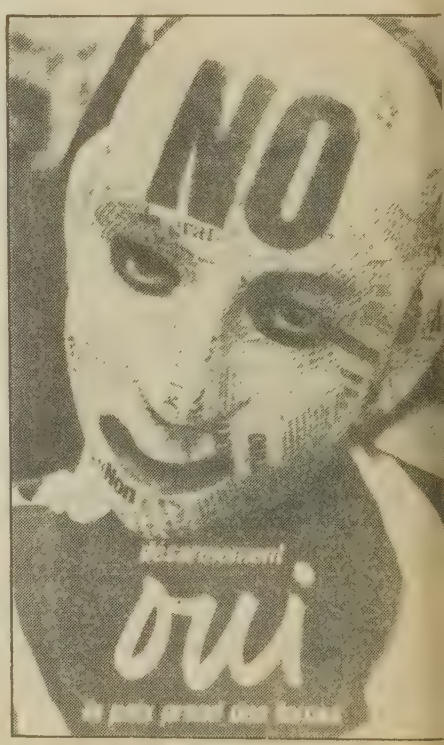
So it is No to the "zero option," the prospect of withdrawing all Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles from Europe, and Yes to "coupling" with the United States in pursuance of a further arms buildup.

The French President, too, doubted the positive value of Reykjavik, in effect taking sides with the government. It is in place to recall here François Mitterrand's very determined stand of several years ago—at the time he was running for president—when he said: "Let the Soviet SS-20s and American Pershings disappear from central Europe."

An accord to this effect was all but reached in Reykjavik. However, it no

No to nuclear death, yes to disarmament. The anti-war movement is gaining momentum in France.

From the weekly L'Humanité-Dimanche (France)



longer looks attractive to France. Why? No logical answer is to be found, for the approach of Paris to the problem is illogical. What makes it even more so is the Soviet Union's consent to leave the French and British nuclear potentials out of account. This essential concession, involving some risks to the Soviet side, seems to have passed unnoticed in Paris. Nor does any thought seem to have been given to French participation in the process of nuclear disarmament in Europe. The new military programme is evidence of a diametrically opposite direction in French military policy.

Under the programme the M-20 single-warhead missiles installed on submarines are to be replaced by M-4 missiles with six warheads and a range of 4,000 km, eventually to be succeeded by M-5 missiles equipped with 12 independently targetable warheads. The nuclear aircraft carrier Richelieu is to be built. Mobile S-4 missiles with a range of 3,500 km will replace the S-3 strategic ballistic missiles on Albion Plateau. Instead of the Pluton tactical nuclear missiles, the French army will get the Hades missiles (range 350 km), which, it should be observed, may be equipped with neutron warheads. Judging from press reports, France has already mastered the production technology of the neutron bomb, which François Mitterrand called a "weapon of terror."

None of these are Christmas gifts from a good neighbour, but formidable weapons, including first-strike weapons, clearly intended to be used against the Soviet Union and other European socialist countries.

So serious magazine as the Scientific American recently arrived at the conclusion that the combined British and French nuclear forces are a substantial military potential and that the British and French programmes to modernize their strategic arsenals will greatly jeopardize the Soviet Union's security, because the two countries' nuclear arms are targeted on Soviet cities. U.S. analysts dismiss as untenable the assertion that the British and French forces are too small to present a real threat. Comparisons of numbers, the magazine says, may obscure the fact that the European nuclear forces can even today inflict the greatest ever destruction on the Soviet Union.

What, then, will the situation be like when France implements its new military programme? What turn will events take if Paris puts into practice the underlying principle of its new military doctrine, namely, "the possible use of nuclear weapons as having the value of a final warning and in conformity with the pattern of our global strategy of deterrence"? Are not opinions now being voiced to the effect that France must use tactical nuclear weapons even in the event of a limited conflict in Europe sufficient cause for alarm? Just as the assertion that it is high time a French "nuclear umbrella" was raised over the F.R.G.? Does not the increasingly "flexible" French military doctrine, designed to justify the buildup of offensive nuclear arms, continued nuclear testing, the production of a neutron bomb and chemical weapons, as well as increasingly closer military cooperation with the United States, generate growing military tension in Europe?

These are all serious questions that agitate the minds of the French above all. "The problem," General Secretary of the French Communist Party Georges Marchais said recently, "is as simple as it is terrific: nuclear arsenals have now reached such a level that should a conflict break out humanity would be annihilated. The end of the world would come. It is necessary to unite to rid humanity of this terrible menace. It is necessary to disarm. In Reykjavik in October the Soviet Union and the United States have come very close to a historic accord on disarmament. It is therefore important for all countries, particularly France, to facilitate the advance towards this great goal. What, then, the leaders of our country do? They declare against a nuclear-free Europe. Worse still, they are stepping up the arms race."

There can hardly be any objections to this assessment of the situation.

Victor TSOPPI

IN BRIEF

● PEACE MOVEMENT

MONTREAL NUCLEAR-FREE

The Montreal's city council has adopted a resolution making Canada's second largest city a denuclearized zone and banning the deployment, manufacture or transportation of nuclear weapons within its limits.

● TERRORISM

DEATH SQUAD VICTIMS

Unidentified persons killed and mutilated four people in Medellin, the administrative seat of Antioquia Department, Colombian police report. This clearly points to the revival of the Death Squads. Only a day earlier, the opposition left-wing Patriotic Alliance Coalition had denounced the murder of Octavio Vargas Cuellar, a lawmaker active in its ranks.

● RELIGION

LIBERATION THEOLOGY ASSEMBLY

At a meeting in Oaxtepec, Mexico, Liberation Theologians said closer relations between the Catholic Church and Latin American popular movements were vital. They reaffirmed their commitments to the poor and again professed a desire for justice and peace.

● EDUCATION

SCHOOLS FOR ADULTS

In China the shortage of skilled labour is resolved through a system of further education. Between 1981 and 1985, 2,320,000 adults, most of whom already had practical experience in the trade, graduated from ordinary and specialized secondary educational schools. Self-education is particularly popular, with everyone studying at home allowed to take exams in virtually all of China's major cities.

In the Monday Club and Elsewhere

Racism has many faces. There is spontaneous racism and official. There is racism in kid gloves, outwardly respectable, and racism hidden in the labyrinths of legislation and government directives. And there is racism that has been elevated by the Tories to the rank of state policy.

Here is what the American sociologist and psychologist Thomas Cottle has to say about the position of the nonwhites in Britain. The immigrant families, he writes, live in houses which at best might be called bearable but at worst, unfit for habitation. They live either on what they earn by poorly paid work or on unemployment relief. The children of ethnic minority parents are usually sent to poor schools where they are taught by white teachers who have only a vague idea of the cultural background and private world of their pupils. Since English is not their native language, the latter derive very little from their education. Hundreds of thousands of them leave school at the first opportunity to hunt for the few jobs society offers them. Many fall into the power of the streets.

Britain's Pariahs

In times of crises racism blossoms. Even such a traditional trait of the British national character as tolerance retreats under its onslaught. In the years of the Thatcher government unemployment has reached the record figure of about 3.5 million, which is comparable only to the situation during the Great Depression of the 1930s, which, incidentally, also evoked a powerful wave of racist and fascist actions. According to data published by a special commission of the Anglican Church studying the situation in the big cities, one in every four or five Britons lives below or close to the poverty line.

However, the hardships dispossessed whites have to suffer are multiplied in the case of nonwhites. Their chances of joining the ranks of the jobless are three or four times greater than those of white Britons, the Department of Employment figures show. Unemployment among the white population stands at 11.5 per cent as compared with 29 per cent in the case of immigrant workers. The figure is still higher for immigrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh—34 per cent, and immigrants from West Indies between 16 and 24 years of age, 40 per cent. And this, although race discrimination on the labour market is forbidden by law.

Those fortunate enough to find work are engaged mainly in unskilled physical labour, and here too are paid less than whites.

In the opinion of the journal Crisis, the Tory government has made race hatred a social phenomenon, and given free rein to the hidden readiness of the British to find a scapegoat for the current hardships and troubles. The division of Britishers into first-, second- and third-class citizens has been legalized. Owing to various immigration restrictions at present about a thousand British subjects are unable to be reunited with wives or husbands, and more than 20,000 children of immigrants from Commonwealth countries have been forbidden to join their parents in Britain.

According to opinion polls, 90 per cent of the population of Britain (6 per cent are nonwhite) are prejudiced against nonwhites; 40 per cent of the whites believe that racial prejudice will increase and 30 per cent, that it will remain at the present level.

Racist and neofascist groups constantly terrorize the nonwhites. Many assaults end in tragedy. According to the Home Office, attacks on Asians are 45 times more frequent than on whites. But the actual figure is probably higher.

The Liberal Runnymede Trust has observed that the police are slow in reacting to incidents of this kind, not infrequently displaying hostility towards the victims, and as often as not the attackers are not prosecuted.

The racists and neofascists stage pogroms in the nonwhite ghettoes under such slogans as "Down with communism, no mixing of races!" and "Blacks go home!" In recent years they have put greater emphasis on terror and violence. Thugs for the pogroms are trained in paramilitary camps.

Poverty in the ghettoes, right-wing terror and police violence have on more than one occasion led to outbreaks of despair in many British towns. In a report on the race riots of 1981, in which hundreds of people suffered injuries in the London district of Brixton, Lord Scarman stressed that something had to be done urgently to prevent racial inequality from becoming a chronic incurable disease threatening the very existence of British society.

What has the Tory government done in these years? The only reaction of the authorities is more violence: police reinforcements are sent into the ghettoes inhabited by Asians and West Indies "to maintain law and order." The result is a vicious circle—unemployment, poverty, racism and police terror spark off explosions of wrath in the ghettoes, and the stepped-up terror leads to even more desperate clashes.

Back to the 1930s

The rights of all hues see Britain's enemies not only in the nonwhites but also in other ethnic minorities. There has latterly been a marked growth of anti-Semitic actions in Britain, the first of this kind, perhaps, since the notorious pogroms of the 1930s staged by Oswald Mosley's blackshirts.

The desecration of Jewish cemeteries, attacks on synagogues and Jewish schools that have been occurring with increasing frequency of late are reminders of that period. Here are a few such instances registered this year, according to the Sunday Telegraph. Jewish cemeteries in Manchester and Liverpool have been repeatedly desecrated. In one of them swastikas and SS emblems were daubed on 50 tombstones. Nazi slogans like "The best Jew is a dead Jew" and "We are watching" appeared in synagogues in Liverpool, Coventry and London. There are also reports of attacks on Jewish homes in London. Threatening inscriptions have been scrawled on a memorial to the victims of the fascist genocide, the walls of the headquarters of the Association of Jewish Youth, and on the building housing the Anne Frank exhibition.

The seeds of hatred are being planted even in children. After listening to neofascist harangues, juveniles attack Jewish schoolchildren, beat them, terrorize and humiliate them.

Anti-Semitism is spreading also in universities. In many of them Jewish societies are harassed in diverse ways. To quote Ashley Harshak, chairperson of the Union of Jewish Students, "you have actually got a situation now when parents phone up masters to ask which universities are less anti-Semitic."

The Jewish community in Britain, numbering some 330,000 people, is increasingly preoccupied with the need for physical and psychological protection from the sallies of right extremists and neofascists. However, the authorities close their eyes to the problem. As in the case of attacks on nonwhites, the police are reluctant to admit that anti-Semitic motives are involved when it comes to investigating breaches of the law with regard to members of the Jewish community.

Embarrassing Links

British law formally forbids racist inequality, but actually encourages it.

In their official pronouncements the Conservatives dissociate themselves from individuals and associations advocating militant racism, but this does not prevent the Tories from pursuing a racist policy. It is a well-known fact that in the Tory camp there are extreme right groups, which openly propound the idea of Anglo-Saxon superiority. The Monday Club, Tory Action and WISE (the Wales, Ireland, Scotland, England campaign) have dozens of supporters among MPs and in local organizations of the Conservative Party. They preach hatred for ethnic minorities, and advocate sending the nonwhites back to where they came from. This essentially coincides with the views of the ultra-rights, only the form differs.

The ideological affinity with the racists at times places the Tories in an extremely awkward position. That is what happened in 1984 when data was published revealing the penetration of right extremists and racists into the ruling party. The scandal was hushed up but no action was taken. Groups such as the Nationalist Party and Focus Policy, which stand halfway between the Conservatives and the neonazis, have cropped up in recent years.

Why are the Tories in no hurry to end these embarrassing ties with racist extremists? The ruling class evidently finds them useful. After all, the Conservatives also need scapegoats on whom to blame all the consequences of the protracted economic crisis: unemployment, cuts in social welfare, the deterioration of the quality of education and the medical services. In a word, all the negative things. Moreover, against the background of the neonazi sallies, official racism looks almost respectable.

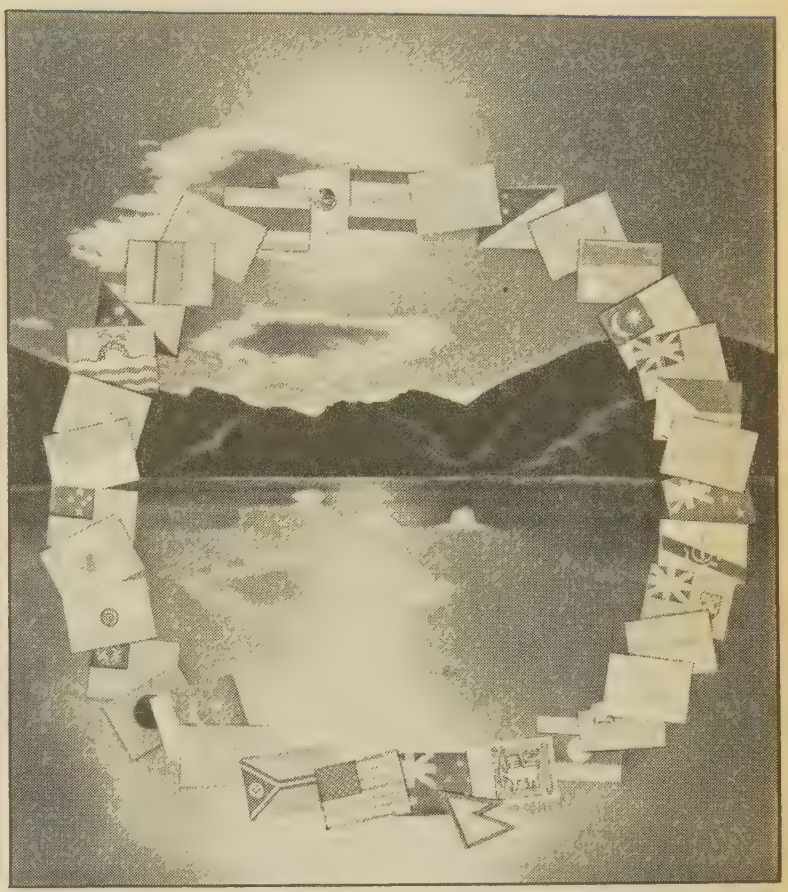
Furthermore, against this background it is easier for the Tory government to justify toughening its policy with regard to the Asian, West Indian and other immigrants, expanding the machinery of coercion and widening its powers. Incidentally, in recent years a number of essentially racist and anti-democratic measures have been given the force of law.

Thus, the activity of a few seemingly insignificant racist and neonazi groups exerts directly or indirectly an increasing influence on the policy of the ruling Conservative Party, pushing it ever farther to the right.

Meanwhile, the darkness of the night continues to be lit up by the flames of burning houses and overturned automobiles.

Alexander LOPUKHIN

1986 YEAR OF PEACE



Towards a world that is safe and nuclear-free. July. In Vladivostok, Mikhail Gorbachev called for the establishment of a reliable system of relations of peace, security and cooperation in Asia and in the Pacific; an agreement on confidence-building measures and the non-use of force; the settlement of regional conflicts; preventing the spread of nuclear weapons in the region; and a radical reduction in conventional armed forces and weapons.

Achievements and Setbacks

VICTOR ISRAELYAN
head of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva disarmament conference

The Council Hall is one of the best known rooms in the Geneva Palace of Nations. Its walls are decorated with impressive frescos by the Spanish painter José Maria Sert: damning everything, the vanquished are burying their dead. But neither are the victors happy. A huge sarcophagus against the sinister background of ruins—this is the price of their victory. Two cannon muzzles, like the gaping mouths of giant dragons, symbolize the Moloch of war, demanding more and more sacrifices.

For more than a quarter of a century this hall has been the scene of fierce diplomatic battles on the most pressing problem of mankind—it is here that the disarmament conference holds its sessions. Countless speeches have been made here over the years and mountains of documents drafted. Sert's frescos have already aged and become covered with a network of cracks, but still there are no tangible results.

True, the conference hall has known better times. The drafting of a number of crucial multilateral agreements in the field of disarmament was concluded here, for instance, the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which has now been signed by more than 130 countries. Drawn up some twenty years ago, this treaty has justified itself and serves as an obstacle to the proliferation of these barbarous weapons. Or take the convention on the prohibition of bacteriological weapons. Indeed, this was the first real measure in the history of mankind to abolish this type of weapon of mass annihilation.

The convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques was adopted about ten years ago. The conference came up with its latest "product" in April 1981—the convention on the banning or limiting of the use of certain conventional weapons which could be regarded as excessively injurious or having indiscriminate effects.

But since then this forum, like all others on questions of arms limitation, has been marking time. Meanwhile, the arms race has not only created mountains of nuclear and other weapons but is threatening to spread to outer space, ineluctably increasing the danger of a universal nuclear catastrophe.

Does this mean that the past ten years have produced nothing new? Not at all.

Signs of Change

First of all, the conference has become more representative. Since 1979, all five nuclear powers have been taking part in its work, and the representation of socialist, non-aligned, neutral and Western countries has been broadened. Today the Geneva forum reflects the alignment of political forces in the world arena more accurately and can be regarded as a prototype of a future world conference on disarmament. It has the mandate to conduct talks with the aim of drafting agreements in the field of arms limitation, and includes virtually all the militarily important countries. In other words, the conference is a unique body which can and must make a substantial contribution to the consolidation of international peace and security. Its agenda has grown considerably in recent years: from the prohibition of nuclear tests to preventing an arms race in outer space, from the prevention of nuclear war to the prohibition of radiological weapons.

The public often fails to associate the conference's work with talks on anything other than banning chemical weapons. Indeed, tangible progress has certainly been achieved in this direction. But it is also true that the vast majority of states taking part in the conference are paying the greatest attention to and showing growing interest in the problems of limiting the nuclear arms race.

This year the conference was in session for seven months and as in the past an atmosphere of complex and diverse diplomatic confrontation prevailed.

Whatever concrete issues were discussed, in the end everything came down to the conclusion that real progress in solving them can be achieved only by resolutely abandoning the old stereotypes in the field of security and disarmament, which have become firmly established in the minds of politicians and diplomats, as well as in the practice of the conference itself.

The series of major Soviet proposals and measures initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev's January 15 statement injected new life into the routine course of the conference. This was expressed not only in the speeches made by most delegations but also in their concrete proposals concerning various items on the agenda.

The work of the session highlighted the U.S. Administration's archaic approach to problems of security. An approach based on military-technological presumptuousness and disregard for the lawful interests of other countries. There is a greater understanding that the present policy of the United States and NATO does not offer a reasonable model for ensuring international security.

Of course, it is still too early to say that the old mentality is surrendering its position without a fight. And the speeches from many delegations reflected a profound understanding of the danger of baleful consequences for mankind with which attempts to resolve security matters by military means are fraught, understanding of the need for the earliest complete elimination of nuclear arms and preventing the appearance of arms in outer space. Even many allies of the United States did not support the American thesis on the "peacemaking" role of nuclear arms and the benefits of deploying SDI.

Most participants in the conference spoke highly of the Soviet plan to create a nuclear-free world by the end of this century. Many states, non-aligned ones in particular, have become more active in matters relating to nuclear disarmament. Argentina, Pakistan and China have submitted their own documents on the issue, and their tenor is the same as that of the Soviet proposal.

Discussions on nuclear disarmament at plenary and informal meetings have become livelier. For the first time in many years it has been possible to adopt a decision to conduct a detailed discussion of all aspects of this problem at special meetings of the conference. But the negative stand taken by the United States and its allies has so far precluded the achievement of anything else.

Geneva's Palace of Nations where the disarmament conference has been meeting for more than a quarter of a century now.

TASS photo

The question of banning nuclear tests now sounds totally different at the conference. Here, as was stated by many delegations, lies the watershed between the old and the new thinking. This, indeed, was the key issue at the last session.

Like the U.S.S.R., most countries view the ban on tests as a genuine path to restraining the nuclear arms race, and for this reason vigorously insist on the speediest conclusion of a treaty to this effect. When in August the Soviet moratorium was extended for the fourth time it is deeply impressed even those who are usually short of kind words about us. When Washington's arguments in defence of testing became completely untenable, the United States was forced to resort to an extreme measure. Using the rule of consensus at the conference, the United States, on its own, blocked the commencement of talks, despite the flexibility displayed by almost all the other states represented, in respect of the mandate of its special auxiliary body on the prohibition of nuclear tests.

The burgeoning of the new approach to questions of ensuring security, as well as to the talks, also manifested itself in the large number of concrete proposals put forward by various countries on the main questions under discussion at the conference. The session of our forum showed that many of these proposals merit discussion. This is true not only of the proposals made by the U.S.S.R., it's allies or non-aligned countries, but also of proposals made by Western states as, for instance, the French proposal on preventing an arms race in outer space and the Australian proposal on the protection of satellites and ground stations.

The broad discussion also brought to the surface latent differences in the positions of Western countries. Many speeches by their representatives were in contrast with American ones. To specify: the mandate of the special auxiliary body of the conference on the question of prohibiting nuclear tests, proposed by Australia in February 1986, was blocked by the American delegation. The U.S. position was seriously criticized by the Dutch delegation. In a departure from past practice, the United States even had to invoke "Atlantic solidarity." But even this could not prevent public statements by Western countries in favour of political means of ensuring national and international security and of preserving treaties, in particular the ABM Treaty, and other agreements in the field of disarmament.

The mood in favour of achieving practical accords manifested itself most tangibly at the conference during the talks on banning chemical weapons. I should like to dwell on this in greater detail.

Is a Convention Within Reach?

The strategic aim of chemical disarmament is outlined in the January 15 statement as the total elimination of this type of weapon of mass annihilation and even the industrial base for its manufacture. While acknowledging all the difficulties of attaining this objective, the U.S.S.R. believes it quite realistic to achieve this goal before the end of the century, and also defines those directions of the talks along which progress is already possible at the present stage.

The fundamental theses of the January 15 statement were spelled out in concrete detail in the Soviet proposals at the conference. In submitting them, the Soviet Union intended first of all to achieve a resolute advance towards agreement on one of the key sections of the convention concerning the industrial base for the manufacture of chemical weapons. Intensive and businesslike talks resulted in the attainment and formal approval of principled accords in respect of the future convention's provisions concerning the time framework for the liquidation of installations for the production of chemical weapons, the declaration of their liquidation, the main obligations of states to stop the production of chemical weapons, measures to ensure the decommissioning and liquidation of these installations, as well as strict verification measures, including systematic on-site international inspections. This signifies major progress not only in the work of the conference in 1986 but also a major landmark in the whole process of preparing the convention.

There has also been advance in reaching agreement on important provisions concerning both a whole number of the main commitments of states to liquidate chemical weapons and the relevant technical and verification procedures.

Noticeable results were also achieved as regards the future convention's section on permitted activities. It concerns the inadmissibility of the use of the chemical industry for developing and producing chemical weapons, regardless of whether this concerns state or private enterprises, or transnational corporations.

The Soviet proposals open the way for the signing of the convention as early as 1987. But this requires a display of political will, as well as interest by the other participants in the talks.

The Soviet Union Proposes...

For many years the opponents of disarmament have been trying to explain the absence of progress at arms limitation talks by the impossibility of reaching agreement on questions of verification because of the "rigid" Soviet position. The new Soviet proposals on these issues have wrecked the system of such "arguments." They have shown that the Soviet Union attaches prime importance to the working out of effective measures to verify compliance with the projected agreements.

The obstructionism of the opponents of disarmament has become still more obvious in these conditions and they are now feverishly searching for other pretexts to justify their refusal to reach positive results at the talks including those at the conference.

It is impossible to achieve disarmament acting alone. The problem of arms limitation and disarmament is common to us all. And this also implies common concern and common responsibility. When working out its proposals, the Soviet Union studies and takes into account the viewpoints and initiatives of other governments, of public and political movements and makes a special point of ensuring equal security for all at every stage of the implementation of these proposals.

"The Soviet Union regards its participation in the disarmament conference with a great sense of responsibility dictated by its conviction that disarmament is the trunk road leading to the assertion of a new, just international order, to the creation of a safe world," Mikhail Gorbachev stressed in his message to the conference in February 1986.

The positive changes in the work of the conference in the outgoing year should be consolidated and developed. The marking of time should at long last be replaced by vigorous and productive action.

■

At the Pakistan Border

General Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] Muhammad Nadjib paid an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union in mid-December. He had talks with Mikhail Gorbachev during which the two sides expressed their mutual desire to further friendly Soviet-Afghan relations and reaffirmed the preparedness of the two countries to contribute in every way towards a settlement in Afghanistan on the basis of the complete termination and guaranteed non-renewal of the armed interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs from without. Comrade Nadjib stressed the determination of the PDPA and the Afghan government to hold constructive dialogue with political forces in and outside the country and to maintain and broaden contacts with neighbouring countries.

We follow with a story by our special correspondent who has just returned from Nangarhar, an Afghan province bordering on Pakistan.

In the Bakhtar Airlines' Kabul booking office I was told, with apologies, that there were only 6 a.m. flights to Jalalabad because, for reasons of security, the company prefers to fly its passengers there early in the morning.

Enemy AA-men, hiding in the mountains, seldom attack airborne targets when visibility is good for fear of being detected and suppressed. Now, in winter, when the shamal northern wind raises pillars of sand and dust from the earth, and the sun sets early, they keep their eyes glued to the sights of their anti-aircraft guns from about noon waiting for planes and helicopters that fail to make the aerodrome before dark. Their U.S.-made shells and Stinger missiles hit all aircraft, military and civil, indiscriminately. The counterrevolutionaries have a strong incentive to try hard: every air target downed in Afghanistan is rewarded, back at their Pakistan base, with enough dollars to start a small business or get another wife.

Story of a Mullah

Jalalabad, the administrative centre of Nangarhar Province, is just 150 km, or 30 minutes' flight, from Kabul. From the airport, I made straight for the local PDPA committee. Its secretary Anwar Issar was already at work at that early hour. I introduced myself and asked him whether he could receive me for a talk some time in the evening and arrange for me to go to the Afghan-Pakistan border while it was light. The border was just 60-70 km away. Getting there had been no problem at all a few years ago. In 1979, I had seen regular buses on the city's central square which used to ply between Jalalabad and Peshawar, Pakistan. One could leave in the morning and return by evening. Neither visas nor passports were required; the border was open and virtually unguarded. Now the roads are mined, and covered by enemy submachine gunners and marksmen hiding in practically all the ravines and behind every hillock.

"Usually we don't allow journalists to go as far as the border," the secretary told me, "because we cannot guarantee their safety. Anything can happen in these parts, you know.... Well, I think I'll stretch a point in your case; after all, you've already been here before. A couple of armoured cars and a few sappers will see you through."

We set off an hour later. Mohammad Amin, chairman of the provincial department for tribes and ethnic groups, volunteered to escort me. I met with him for the first time, but I had heard a lot about him before. A man who has had an extraordinary life, he comes from the Gajai frontier tribe and decided, while still young, to follow in the footsteps of his father, a mullah. Upon graduating from Peshawar's Akkani madrasah he became a mullah himself, conducted services in several mosques, was promoted to imam and made a name for himself as a theologian. In the early sixties he returned to his home town of Rudat where the wind of the imminent revolutionary change reached him. He lost his peace of mind, doubts and reflections on the meaning of life began to torment him; finally he abandoned religion, went to work as a driver, and later took up pharmaceutics. At that time he met some members of the People's Democratic Party, joined it himself in 1972, and started doing underground party work. After the April 1978 revolution he was appointed governor of the neighbouring province of Kunar and, quite recently, got his present post in his home province. The enemies of the revolution, who commit their crimes under the pretext of defending the "holy faith," could not forgive the former mullah for his apostasy from Islam. In 1980 they burned down his Rudat home and massacred 17 members of his family. Mohammad Amin himself was in Jalalabad on business on that day.

"We residents of Nangarhar are heirs to a glorious past," Mohammad Amin told me en route. "Jalalabad has been an outpost in the southeast of Afghanistan for a long time. The English came here three times, trying to capture the whole of our country. It was here that they met with the first serious rebuff from the Afghans. As you see, history repeats itself. Today our province's 183-km-long border with Pakistan is violated by counterrevolutionary anti-popular forces daily, on a massive scale."

Having passed through one of the settlements we encountered a bar blocking the way. A people's militia lieutenant examined our passes, asked the purpose of our journey, and warned that we were entering the Free Tribes Area.

The Durand Line

The Free Tribes Area, which enjoys a special autonomy, is a fairly narrow strip of mountain country stretching along the so-called Durand Line on both sides of the Afghan-Pakistan border. The English made Emir Abdur Rahman Khan of Afghanistan sign an agreement on this border in 1893. Traced on a map by Sir Mortimer Durand, the British high commissioner in India, and named after him, the border was arbitrary and did not take the Pashtoon's interests into account. The

Durand Line, stretching for almost 650 km. over the mountains, cuts in two the territories populated by such large Pashtoon tribes as the Afridi, Shinwar, Mohmand, Jodran, Jaji, Wardak, and others. They have lived here from time immemorial, controlling the strategic trans-Asian communication routes, mountain passes and pathways, including the Khyber, Gumal and Bolan.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the Pashtoons living along the Durand Line fought the British colonial regime. Their leader Abdul Gaffar Khan was known as "the frontier Gandhi." Eventually, the regions adjacent to this line were recognized as the Free Tribes Area. This happened before Pakistan appeared on the map as a result of British India's partition into two states in 1947.

Since the victory of the April Revolution, the forces of imperialism, acting hand in glove with Islamabad, have turned the frontier regions of Pakistan into the main springboard for an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Afghan people, ignoring the will of the Pashtoons living along the Durand Line who have never put up with it. Four years ago I happened to meet Abdul Gaffar Khan, who was then 92. (I was told he is still alive.) He condemned Pakistan's attempts to set Pakistani and Afghan Pashtoons against each other, and the pitching of the Afghan counterrevolutionaries' combat training camps on the Pakistani side of the Free Tribes Area. In his press statements he repeatedly pointed out that

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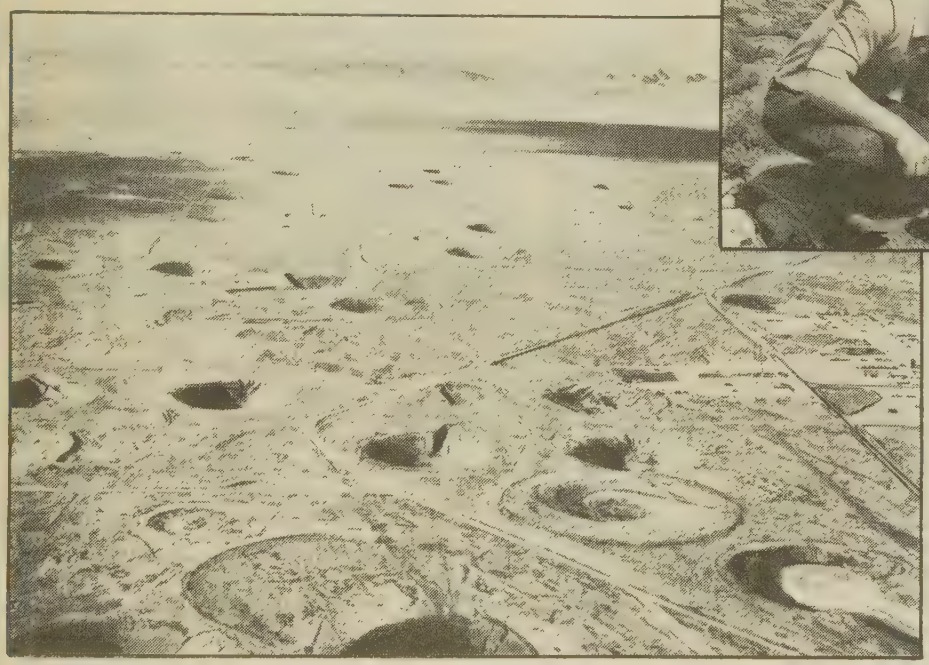


Towards a world that is safe and nuclear-free.

August. The U.S.S.R. has now been observing its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests for twelve months. Soviet and American scientists are conducting a joint nuclear test monitoring experiment near a testing site in the Semipalatinsk region. American instruments installed there register only the shock waves coming in from Nevada.

On New Year's eve the Soviet government stated that it would not show one-sided restraint indefinitely.

We suggest that full-scale negotiations on banning all nuclear tests be started without delay. The U.S.S.R. is prepared to hold them at any level and at any forum, with the participation of the U.S. In the course of the talks a solution should be found to test ban verification problems, which would ensure the reliable observance of the agreement. In the process of negotiations Moscow is ready to reach an agreement on the stage - by - stage achievement of this objective, i.e., through the ratification of the 1974 and 1976 Soviet-American treaties and the imposing of intermediate restrictions on the number and yield of nuclear blasts.

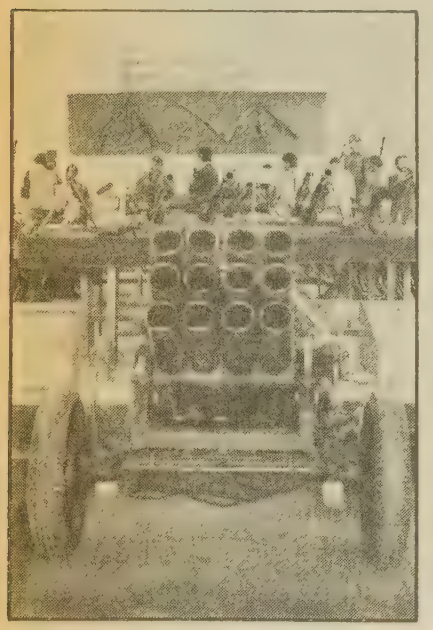
The U.S.S.R. is prepared to continue its moratorium. Nevertheless, it will resume nuclear tests following the first U.S. nuclear explosion in the coming year.

If the U.S. stops nuclear tests, the U.S.S.R. will be ready any time to discontinue the implementation of its own nuclear test programme on the basis of reciprocity.

the Durand Line was a vestige of the colonial past.

A year ago, the Pakistani military punished with fire and sword Shinwar and Afridi patriots who had categorically refused to allow counterrevolutionary bands and their arms caravans through the tribal area. Islamabad used not only the army but Afghan counterrevolutionaries themselves in its punitive operations against these Pashtoon tribes. It failed to subdue the frontier tribes, however. They continue to uphold their right to be the masters of their land. The situation in the Khyber Pass area has remained tense ever since.

In Torkham—the last population centre on the Afghan side—an Afghan infantry division has its command post. I was told there that the division's units had taken up strongpoints on elevations on the very border with Pakistan. A corridor had been provided for the safe passage of peaceful civilians in either direction. Some of the strongpoints had been handed over to the malishes—fighters of the Pashtoon militia.



Weapons that the Afghan counterrevolutionaries get from their foreign patrons.

"We are having it rather hard here," Ahmad Khan, the commander of a malish unit in Torkham, said. "All is more or less quiet in the daytime, but after dark machine guns and cannon open up on the other side of the border in order to provide fire cover for the counterrevolutionary bands penetrating various sections of the border. Up to now we have been unable to block the way to all of them."

Towards evening the rumble of artillery fire came in from the other side. They were either shelling a recalcitrant Pashtoon community, or covering up the penetration of another bandit gang into Afghanistan. Dusk fell, and it was time to leave.

Who the Elders Side With

Back in Jalalabad, Mohammad Amin proudly showed us the new centre of cultural cooperation with the tribes. This is the first institution of its kind, complete with a large conference hall, all sorts of other premises and hotels—all air-conditioned.

A group of rishsafids (white beards, as the venerable tribal and clan elders are called in Afghanistan) stood in front of the marble façade of the main block. They were the first guests of the Nangarhar department for tribes and ethnic groups which discharges the function of a link between the state and the free tribes, and explains the policy of the PDPA and the D.R.A. government to tribal representatives.

I learned from them that at the frontier tribes' Great Council held in Kabul in September 1985 the Afridi delegates headed by their chief Wali Khan Kokikheil (who had come for the meeting from Pakistan) pledged themselves not to let Afghan counterrevolutionary bands across the roughly 70-km-long stretch of border adjoining their lands. They also undertook, no less importantly, to help those referred to as refugees in Pakistan return to the D.R.A. Later, Wali Khan Kokikheil wrote to the Secretary of the Organization of Islamic Conference: "We are against the policies of the military regime of Pakistan which, under the guidance of the U.S.A., wants to use our land for training and arming the enemies of Afghanistan."

The elders told me that the Pakistani authorities had for some time failed to observe the agreements they signed with the tribes. They had long stopped paying the Afridi the toll for the use of the highway to Torkham which crosses the tribe's lands. Recently, Punjabi servicemen clad in malish uniforms had begun to be concentrated on the border—an obviously provocative move.

The People's Democratic Party and the government of Afghanistan keep in touch with the tribes, cater for their needs, and look after their interests.

Builders of the Jalalabad centre for cultural cooperation with the tribes.

"This year 650 million afghanis have been allocated for the development of the frontier provinces of Afghanistan," Mohammad Amin told me. "A law on the guaranteed observance of the Pashtoon tribes' traditional rights has been passed. Malishes and tribesmen's volunteer battalions are enlisted to guard the frontier on a wide scale. I must admit, though, that what the people's government has done for the tribes is as yet insufficient to secure their full support for the revolution. This is why the party and government point in their fundamental documents to the urgent need to seek ways of solving the nationalities question, developing national regions, and taking the interests of all the peoples of Afghanistan into account."

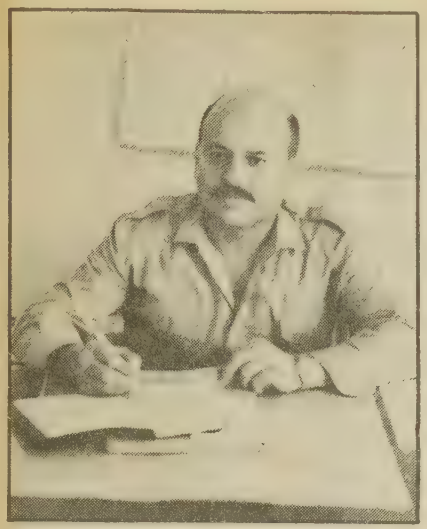
Towards National Reconciliation

The Western press follows developments in the Nangarhar Province closely. Its stories about internal strife, economic stagnation and anarchy reigning in Jalalabad and other parts of the province are mere wishful thinking. On the basis of what I have seen there with my own eyes I can testify that all these stories are slanderous lies.

There are no signs of alarm or nervousness in Jalalabad. Life follows its

measured course traditional for the Orient. Acts of sabotage do occur, though, and the local people have to be on the alert.

"Virtually every day, bandits, armed to the teeth, are smuggled in over the



Anwar Issar, secretary of the Nangarhar provincial committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.
Photos by author

Khyber Pass along mountain paths," Anwar Issar, Secretary of the provincial PDPA committee, told me. "They usually cross the border in groups of 20-30, at night, and commit acts of terrorism, set schools and party activists' houses on fire, blow up power lines and mine roads under cover of darkness. Furthermore, they disseminate leaflets calling on Moslems to 'wage merciless war against the infidels,' and containing slanderous 'information' on the demolition of mosques and the shooting of mullahs. Incidentally, the people's democratic power takes special care of believers. We repair old mosques and build new ones, and help believers make pilgrimages to Mecca. The government spends 26,000 afghanis on each pilgrim.

"The ideologists of counterrevolution resort to slander because the situation in the country is gradually returning to normal," Anwar Issar went on. "This is only natural because people can see with their own eyes what the revolution means to the Afghan workingman, what vistas it opens up before him. In our province, for instance, we have completed the first phase of land and water reform, provided jobs for many unemployed, and are building cheap homes for those in need of rehousing. Nangarhar Province has long been Afghanistan's biggest citrus fruit producer thanks to the irrigation complex which the U.S.S.R. has helped us build and which comprises a water reservoir, a hydropower station and a 70-km irrigation canal."

Jalalabad security officials told me of the cases of several counterrevolutionary leaders who had come over to the side of the people's government. For the moment their names cannot be disclosed. These onetime counterrevolutionaries testified that anti-Afghan groupings had one of their centres in Peshawar's Hazafy Hotel, that the meetings held there are addressed by Hikmatyar, Rabbani and other counterrevolutionary chieftains, and frequently attended by American instructors who put up at the swanky National Sardar Hotel. The testimony contains a wealth of information about the money and arms lavished on these imperialist mercenaries by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and other Western special services.

"As you see, the pressure from outside is strong," Anwar Issar commented after I had told him about the evidence given by the former counterrevolutionaries. "To this pressure we must oppose the cohesion of the people, who only want peace on their land. Therefore we seek to broaden the social base of the revolution. Cardinal measures for broadening it were outlined at the 20th Plenum of the PDPA Central Committee held last November. These measures include drawing representatives from a broad spectrum of political forces and from all walks of life into government bodies at all levels, getting all the social strata of the population involved in building a new life, preparedness to make serious political concession to the petty and middle-class bourgeoisie, and to some landowners (with historical traditions and national specifics in mind) for the sake of the earliest possible end to the armed struggle in our country. As our leader Comrade Nadjib said during his recent visit to Moscow, 'we intend to go along the road quite far, all the way to the formation of a national unity government, which could include representatives of forces that have temporarily found themselves outside Afghanistan, but which are ready to take part in the historic transformation of life in the country.' "

After a short pause, Anwar Issar added:

"As we extend the hand of friendship to the peoples of Pakistan, Iran and other countries, we tell them: let us settle the issues connected with Afghanistan by peaceful political means rather than by force of arms. By sending six Soviet regiments home, Kabul and Moscow have convincingly demonstrated their adherence to this principle. Our party and government say for all the world to hear that they want to put an end to the war imposed upon us by the forces of imperialism and regional reaction."

L. MIRONOV
our special correspondent

Jalalabad—Kabul—Moscow

IN BRIEF

● TERRORISM

CAUGHT

In Lusaka, Zambian security forces have arrested three agents of the Pretoria racist regime suspected of complicity in the December 12 bombings in Livingstone. Large quantities of explosives were found in their possession. They have confessed that they were recruited to perpetrate sabotage. All three are South African nationals, although they also hold British, New Zealand and Australian passports.

● WORLD MEDIA

NEWSMEN WIN STRIKE

Henri Pigeat, president-director general of the news agency France-Presse, has resigned after a fortnight-long strike during which the agency staff protested against his plan for reorganization. Journalists maintained that the plan jeopardized France-Presse status as an international news agency and would also entail the laying-off of 300 members, 150 of them journalists of the 734-strong staff. The unions of journalists and the agency's provisional directors have agreed to shelve the plan, and the strike has now been called off.

● FOLLOW-UP

MORE ABOUT THE KIELLAND DISASTER

The sinking of Norway's offshore drilling rig the Alexander Kielland in March 1980, which brought a death toll of 123, was due to sabotage, says Norwegian engineer Ole Ostlund after a six-year inquiry into the causes of the tragedy. It had previously been thought that metal fatigue caused a rig's leg to break.

Bucharest Revisited

From our special correspondent
VITALY CHERNYAVSKY

The train pulled in at the covered platform of the Gara de Nord and I found myself back in my youth. The Northern Station—the main gateway to Romania's capital—has hardly changed since the day 40 years ago when I left for Moscow after a two-year stay in Romania. I had been working at the Allied Control Commission—in September 1944 I was appointed assistant to the political adviser—and in the Soviet embassy which was set up a year later. The Soviet Union was the first of the allied states to establish diplomatic relations with Romania when it embarked on the path to democracy.

I drive through familiar streets and reach the crowded Calea Victoriei, the city's main thoroughfare. The Bucuresti Hotel, in which I put up, was not there formerly. An eleven-storey modern building occupying almost a whole block between Nuterilor and Stirbei Voda streets, this splendid airy and comfortable hotel has eclipsed the Athénée-Palace, old Bucharest's best hotel across the street.

From the window of my room I see gantry cranes rising above the rooftops and pointing in every direction. There is a great deal of housing construction now. New residential houses, public buildings and whole neighbourhoods are springing up. New underground railway lines appear. In my youth there was no underground in Bucharest. Forty years ago people had other things to think about.

I looked at Calea Victoriei and thought back to the distant day of August 23, 1944, when a Communist-led uprising took place. The military-fascist dictatorship fell, the country broke with Hitler's Germany and took the side of the allies. The success of the uprising was ensured by the powerful offensive of the Soviet forces on Bucharest to destroy the nazi South Ukraine group.

The Communist Party, after a trying period of illegality, emerged on the political scene. It was a tough, uncompromising struggle that claimed many victims.

As I strolled along Calea Victoriei and the palace square I saw them as they had looked in February 1945. In those days it was full of milling crowds: Bucharest workers and peasants who had arrived from all over the country marched through the streets demanding democratic change and land reform. Factories to the workers, land to the peasants! On the order of General Radescu, the arch-reactionary who headed the King's government, the police opened fire on the crowd. They were joined by armed Right-wing groups. The thugs from the National Peasant Party were particularly vicious. They attacked Communists and trade union activists.

It is impossible to describe the complexities of the situation in only a few words. Let me mention the essentials. The Communist Party created a National Democratic Front (NDF) and called on all progressive forces in Romania to unite. This marked the start of an uphill struggle to bring a democratic government to power. The American and British missions to the Allied Control Commission in Bucharest were unable to render the monarchy and the reactionaries the help they asked for. Shortly after the overthrow of the Antonescu military-fascist dictatorship, the King asked the British and American command in Cairo to send three paratroop brigades to Bucharest. But it was too late. On August 31, 1944, Soviet troops entered Bucharest and buried the hopes of the reactionaries. From then on any open interference would have constituted direct violation of the decisions agreed in Yalta by Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill. King Mihai I's top advisers told him not to take risks when 800,000 demonstrators turned out in the streets to support the NDF programme. Grudgingly, the monarch endorsed the first democratic government in the country's history. It was headed by Petru Groza, leader of the Ploughmen's Front, a mass organization of working peasants and the Communists' principal ally. Georghe Gheorghiu-Dej, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, was appointed Deputy Prime Minister. This was in March 1945.

The Romanian people were now committed to democratic path. Some three years later, on December 30, 1947, Mihai I signed an instrument of abdication. This marked the end of the Hohenzollern dynasty which had ruled Romania for more than eight decades. Romania became a people's republic.

620,000 Housewarmings

I am so haunted by memories that it seems to keep me from speaking about present-day Bucharest. But then my memories provide a background which throws the life of the capital today into bolder relief.

The end of autumn is a wonderful time in Bucharest: it is cool, and the exhausting heat of the summer is gone. There is hardly any rain. But the mornings are misty. The centre is crowded in the daytime. The population of Bucharest has increased from 550,000 to more than two million over the last forty years. Formerly, the city's thoroughfares were full of idle crowds, newspaper boys, street vendors, photographers who took snapshots and thrust a receipt into your hand: come and collect your picture, thank you in advance. Everything is different now.

In the years since then Bucharest's industry has increased more than 60 times over. Heavy engineering has grown 300 times over, and the chemical industry 250 times over. Bucharest accounts for 15 per cent of the nation's industrial output. It manufactures air liners, powerful turbines, robots and equipment for nuclear power plants and locomotives, all unheard-of 40 years ago.

The capital's chief architect, Paul Alexandru Focsa, a lean 50-year-old man dedicated to his profession, unleashed a stream of figures on me when I visited him at the municipal people's council on Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej Boulevard.

"Who mans all these new industries and the burgeoning utility services?"

"Bucharest's manpower needs are fully met by the population of Bucharest and its suburbs, which form Greater Bucharest."

"Don't you have to bring in manpower from other parts of the country?" I asked, thinking of the huge numbers of workers Moscow has to bring in from outside.

"There was a time when everybody wanted to come to Bucharest. But this is no longer so."

"And what about the housing problem?"

The answer I received was somewhat surprising.

"We have by and large solved it. Of course, it can never really be solved: children are born and grow up to raise young families. There will always be a need for new housing. It is all a matter of time. Here in Bucharest you have to wait three or four months after applying for a new apartment.

"We have doubled the amount of housing. Since the establishment of a people's government, more than 620,000 families in Bucharest have moved into new homes."

After my talk with Focsa, I went to see some of the new residential neighbourhoods. Most of them are in the outskirts, which four decades ago were occupied by clusters of hovels. There are rows of high-rise buildings along Calea Mosilor and Calea Dorobantilor, along the Pantelimon and Stefan Cel Mare highways. It's impossible to enumerate all the new streets. The newest big residential areas are Titan, Balta-Alba and Berceni. They have between 100,000 and 200,000 inhabitants each.

The apartments are spacious, comfortable and solidly built. Of course, some 25-30 years ago, when the massive housing programme was launched and the capital was desperately short of living space, the houses were lower (five-storey walk-ups) and the workmanship was not so good. The flats were small with a minimum of conveniences. All this is in the past.

"What is the secret? How have you managed to meet the housing needs of Bucharest in recent years?" I pressed Focsa.

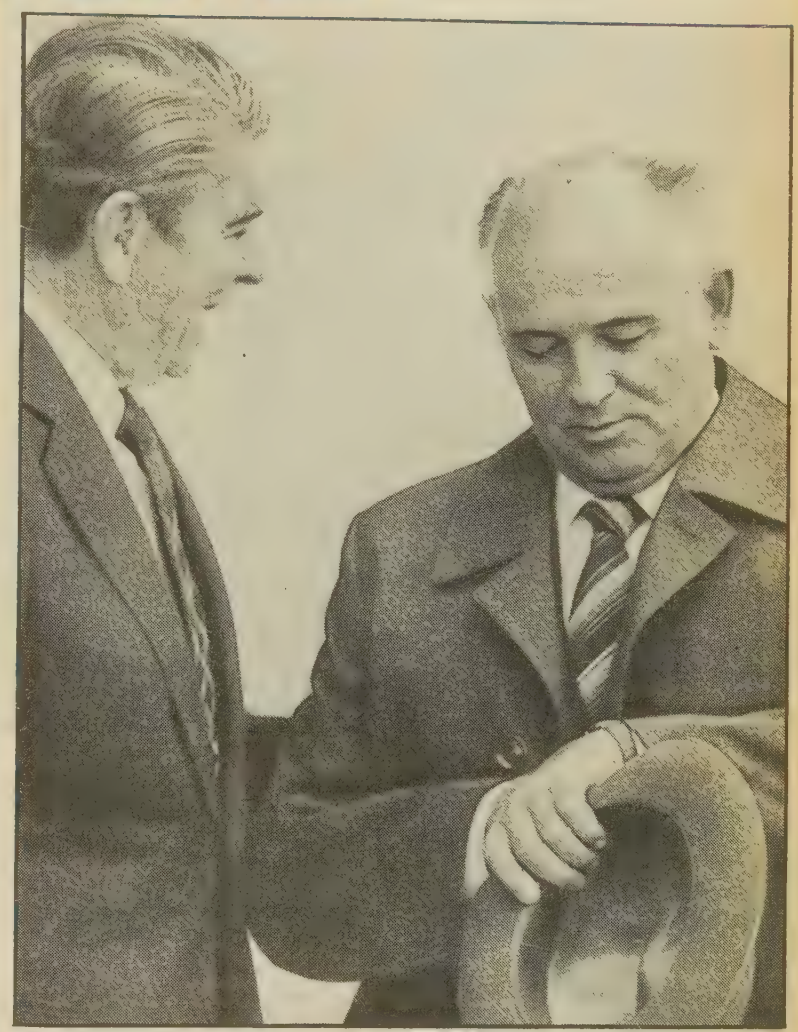
"We have a powerful building materials industry and a large body of building workers in every speciality. A lot of the buildings are erected not by the government, but by cooperatives.

Far be it from me to idealize the work of the Bucharest municipal council. Many people with whom I talked in Bucharest were critical of the people who run the city. And the council itself was candid about its problems. Chief of them is, perhaps, transportation.

Trams, buses and trolleybuses are crammed even out of rush hour. You can imagine what it is like in the morning when people go to work and in the evening when they return. The surface transport is worn and outdated, and there is not enough of it. Drastic renewal of the city's transport is a high priority in the current five-year plan. Let us hope it succeeds. I would like to mention parenthetically, that transport was a grave worry for the municipal council forty years ago. And in more recent times as well, transport has often given the mayors headaches.

"We pin great hopes on the underground railway," said Focsa. "Make a point of seeing our Metro."

1986 YEAR OF PEACE



Towards a world that is safe and nuclear-free. October. The leaders of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. met in Reykjavik. The road to an agreement on a world without nuclear arms seemed just one step away. But the SDI chimera proved to mean more to Washington than genuine universal security. Time is running short, but the President is in no hurry.

The Metro

I was taken to see the metro by two young engineers. Virgil Daschievici, who explained everything, is fluent in Russian. A graduate of the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute, he is about 35. A few months before the underground was opened, he returned from a trip to the Soviet Union where he saw

the work of the underground railway in Moscow and Kharkov. With a group of colleagues, he studied the underground railways in Budapest, Paris, London and Munich. He liked the Kharkov one best of all.

"It's very much like ours," Daschievici said.

The metro was built quickly. Construction started in November 1975, and the first line was put into operation exactly four years later, in time for the opening of the 12th Congress of the RCP. The stations lie close to the surface, but they are spacious, comfortable and airy. The platforms are wide and you do not have a feeling of being underground.

The two lines currently in operation have 23 stations and a total length of 37 kilometres. By late 1987 another five stations will have opened and by 1990 the total length of the underground will have reached about 60 kilometres.

Each day more than 600,000 people use the underground, which accounts for 12 per cent of all passengers. When the third line is opened, the metro will carry about half of all passengers.

Austerity Measures

At night the central streets are ill-lit. There are no lights in shopwindows and no advertisements. The side streets are completely dark. This is part of energy saving.

On weekdays television broadcasts for two hours a day, on Saturdays and Sundays for three more hours.

Romania introduced austerity measures two years ago, especially on power, fuel and metal.

The high-rise hotel Intercontinental symbolizes Bucharest.

A comfortable and capacious underground railway station in Bucharest.

TASS and Agerpress photos

The measures were toughened last autumn. In October 1985, the Political Executive of the CC RCP approved a programme to save electric and thermal energy and natural gas. The people's councils monitor the compliance of government organizations and the population with energy consumption quotas.

Austerity measures are also being taken in the manufacturing branches. Priority is being given to expanding the output of machine-intensive items. The efficacy of metallurgical processes is being increased, and coking coal, oil and ferroalloy quotas are being strictly observed. It is being seen to that the amount of waste metal is reduced at all metalworking processes.

Economizing is becoming a habit in Romania today. Much attention is paid to recycling resources. Some 40 enterprises have formed an association to collect secondary raw materials.

In Bucharest backyards I saw containers with the inscription: "For broken glass" and baskets for waste paper set up next to mail boxes. At petrol filling stations there are containers to collect waste lubricants, and you can only get engine oil in exchange for empty plastic cans.

All enterprises are now examining every possible means of effecting a saving of energy and materials. Just as when placing their orders for raw and other materials, they take account of their own secondary materials resources. At the August 23 Iron and Steel Works in Bucharest, for instance, waste ferrous and nonferrous metals are briquetted and resmelted. Many enterprises do likewise.

The austerity measures have already brought some results, I was told at the State Planning Commission. It is one of the two main levers that have helped Romania repay a large part of its long-term credits to the West within a short time.

The rest of the debt is to be cleared in about two years, I learned at the State Planning Commission.

The imperialist countries are using long-term credits to impose their policies on developing countries. And Romania is a developing socialist country. The main target of the 1986-90 five-year plan is to move from the stage of a developing country to a higher stage—a country at a medium level of development. The RCP programme states thay by the year 2000 Romania is to be a developed socialist country.

The other lever is the increase of exports and cutting of imports in the overall expansion of foreign trade. In 1985, Romania's foreign trade rose by 15 per cent over the previous year, a very high growth rate. During the current five-year-plan period the growth target is 41-45 per cent, more than the increase in the social product. People will have it rather hard. Certain food products have been rationed.

The people at the commission admitted that the country has its problems, but the people have realized that the quality of life will improve when Romania has paid off its debts.

The economic performance in 1986, the first year of the eighth five-year-plan period, has been good. Industrial output is to grow by some 7 per cent. After three lean years Romania has harvested quite a good grain crop. There is every reason to look to the future with confidence.

Bucharest—Moscow

"It Was All Far More Prosaic"

"We worked as hard as at home, perhaps a little harder," said these two doctors on their return from Nicaragua, Vera Golovanova and Tatyana Babushkina.

Bacteriologist VERA GOLOVANOVA:

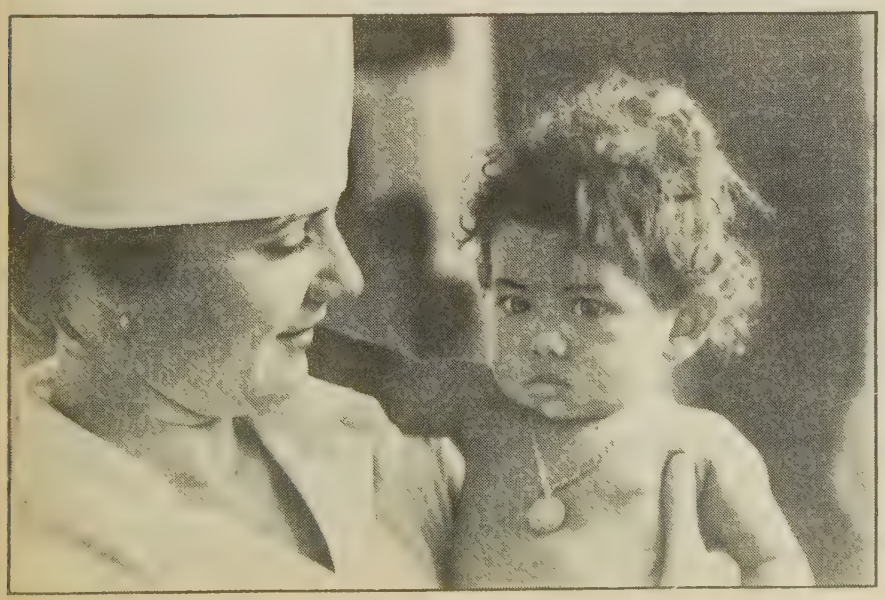
Treating exotic illnesses, urgent calls and risky operations did no doubt make up part of the work done by Soviet medical personnel in the group with which I went to Nicaragua at the invitation of its government several years ago. But for me it was all far more prosaic. All the time I was there I worked in a small bacteriological laboratory. Nicaragua did not have enough cardiologists, surgeons, neurologists, pediatricians, and other specialists. Nor did it have any qualified bacteriologists, only a few technicians, whose standards can be roughly compared with the level of our paramedical schools. All they could do was mechanically carry out bacteriological analyses. It was only with the doctor-in-charge that I could talk professionally, and comprehensively discuss the results of analyses, and argue about the final diagnosis.

My place of work was Managua's central children's hospital. All our child patients were tested, as the incidence of contagious diseases throughout the country is still high. We were the first Soviet doctors to have come to Nicaragua and at the start we really did have a hard time. All the reagents and instruments were of foreign make and we had to get used to them. Then we had to start systematization going, as hitherto it had been lacking. Things were not always completely sterile! There was also, especially at the outset, the language barrier, and we had to sit down to learn Spanish. Nor was it easy to gain the confidence of our medical colleagues.

Our day would begin with an hour or two of theory with the technologist Alma Iris, and the technician Jeanette. Next came the practical side, with lab analyses. The two girls did the right thing, but did not carry it through, because, as I have already said, they had never been asked to do so. As a rule, I suggested drawing comparisons; they were to do the analysis as best they could, while I did it as should be done and then we compared results. Often they would take my result to be checked by the experienced Costa Rican biologist in the neighbouring laboratory because they didn't quite trust it.

A little patient at the Soviet hospital in Chinandega.

TASS photo



One day Alma Iris approached me to show me an analysis she had done and say that she thought there was something unusual about it. I had a good look and told her that she could isolate the meningococcus provided she did as I told her. I explained what results she could expect, and at which stage in this rather intricate analysis. She took her analysis to the Costa Rican biologist, who was rather sceptical. During the two days of the complete analysis I sensed that Alma Iris, Jeanette and the other personnel who had heard about our argument, were looking at me. On the other hand, on the third day, when it was absolutely clear that the meningococcus, the cause of meningitis, had been isolated, incidentally for the first time ever in Nicaragua, everyone now had full confidence in me and the girls no longer ran to consult the biologist in the neighbouring laboratory. Later on we were able, in our laboratory, also for the first time in the country, to isolate the bacteria causing TB and some other diseases.

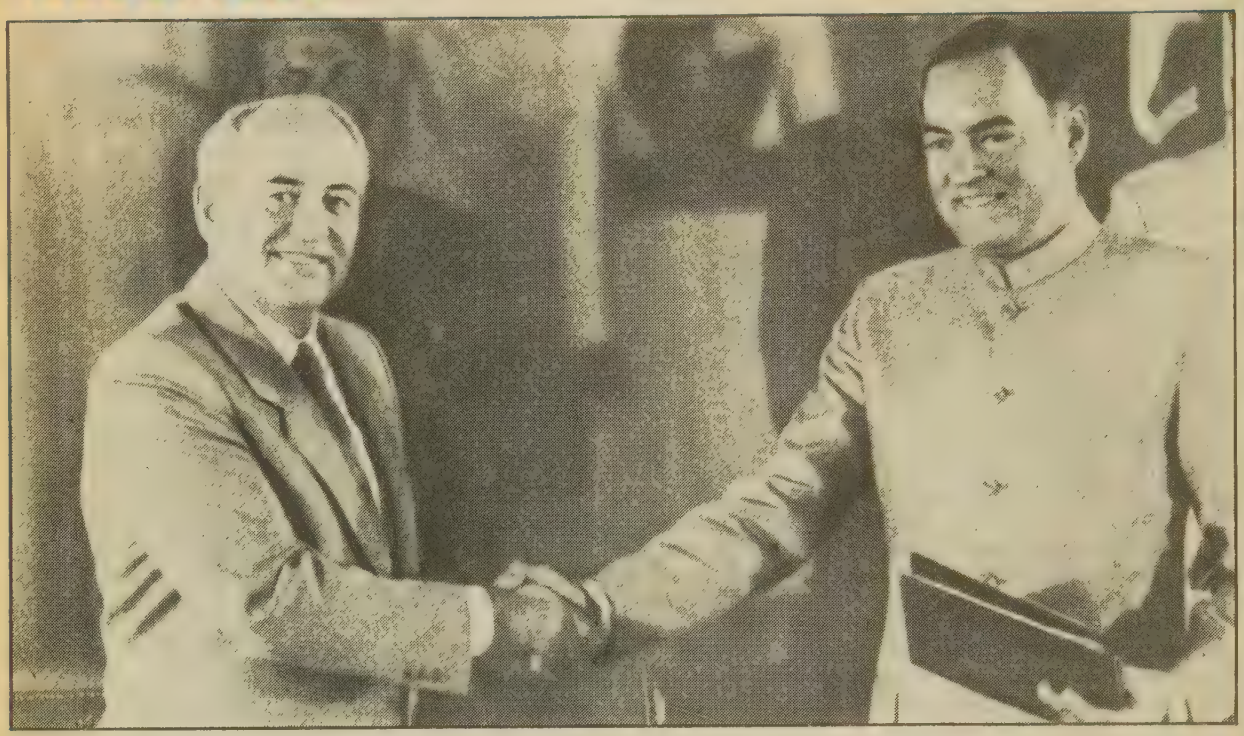
The revolution made the health services free and placed them within reach of Nicaragua's ordinary people. In the five years of popular power alone nine large hospitals and 348 polyclinics and first-aid stations were built. Polio has been eradicated. Average child mortality rate has dropped from 200 in every 1,000 newborn babies in some areas to 80. Soviet doctors have contributed signally to this.

Every year medical students, inquiring and dedicated young men and women, would take their practicals at our laboratory. My assistant, Jeanette, also entered a medical college.

TATYANA BABUSHKINA, heart specialist and general practitioner:

I had a daily surgery of between 25 and 30 patients from all over the country, many of whom, even the elderly ones, were seeing a doctor for the first time in their lives. I think these were the most disciplined patients I have ever had. Even before seven o'clock in the morning everyone with an appointment to see me that day would already be seated in the waiting room. Totally unspoiled by free health services, they were always pleased to have a checkup and faithfully take the medicines prescribed. We had to work all through the day from early morning till late at night. At first, until I got used to it, I reached home ready to drop. I remember that one night our interpreter rushed in to ask if we were all right.

1986 YEAR OF PEACE



Towards a world that is safe and nuclear-free. November. The leaders of the U.S.S.R. and India have just signed the Delhi Declaration on the Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World. The coming year of 1987 is to bring this world closer.

We questioned her as to what could have happened. It appeared that right under our windows the militia had captured bandits who had sneaked into the city. There had been an exchange of gunfire, but we had slept through the whole affair, we were so tired. I also "missed" a fairly strong earthquake.

We also had to treat arrested contras, who were brought to us in a convoy from the army jail several times a week. I will never forget the hateful glances the other patients shot at them, depressed but for the most part healthy men. It seemed to me that they had asked to be taken to a doctor mainly to get out of the prison atmosphere for at least a short while.

However, their behaviour was totally unlike the behaviour of the wounded Sandinists at the convalescence hospital where I also worked. Undergoing treatment there were the most seriously wounded men of the Sandinist People's Army. Some had ruptured cords, others had had arms or legs amputated, and others again seemed completely bedridden. However, they did not want to put up with their terrible injuries; neither tablets nor shots but physical exercises was what they saw as their best medicine, and their only way back to a normal life. Many of them would do exercises for 6, 8, 12, if not more, hours at a stretch. Theirs was a real battle of resolve against impending immobility in their desire to serve their country. As I remember, they always answered my questions of "como se siente?" ("how are you feeling?") or "que tal?" ("how are things?") with a "bien!" ("fine!"). One shortish young man, Jesus by name I think, particularly amazed me with his fervent desire to overcome his injuries. His vade mecum was a neatly covered, well-thumbed copy of Nikolai Ostrovsky's "How the Steel Was Tempered" in Spanish. He told me that his comrades-in-arms had given him the book after his operation and that it had helped him to survive his worst ordeal.

Hostile propaganda told Nicaraguans that Soviet doctors were "devils in human form." Today even the most sceptical laugh when they hear this. One day, in the Infantil Park near the polyclinic in Managua, an elderly lady approached the two of us, having apparently heard us chatting in Russian, and asked permission to kiss us. It appeared that only a week earlier Soviet surgeons had snatched her only grandson from the jaws of death in far-away Chinandega. Several dozen Soviet doctors from Moscow, Leningrad, Smolensk and Gorky are working only a stone's throw from Nicaragua's northern border. At the government's request, this health centre was set up at short notice in one of the country's least developed areas hit hardest by the catastrophic floods of 1981 and 1982. In the four odd years since it was founded it has given medical assistance to more than 250,000 people, not only Nicaraguans, but also internationalists from the U.S., France, Switzerland and elsewhere, who are helping the republic in its hour of need. No wonder the hospital in Chinandega is known as the "Russky" hospital.

As told to our reporter
Vladimir GALIN

I have heard about survival experiments. I would like to know more about them. Are such experiments really necessary in this age of science and technology?

Murad KERIMOV
Dushanbe, U.S.S.R.

To Help Others Survive

There are not many professions in the world that involve conscious risk. However, there are people who take risks for the sake of others, for the sake of those who may, by a quirk of fate, find themselves exposed to the elements with nothing to help them in the struggle for survival. Nothing, that is, except the experience and recommendations of experimenters.

I have taken part in such experiments. Once I found myself in a Robinson Crusoe situation. Along with two other people, I was on a desert island in the Pacific in the Soviet Far East. We had neither a knife, matches, a crumb of bread, nor fishing tackle. In the end we ordinary city-dwellers learned to catch fish and light a fire by rubbing two sticks together. Now I know how important it is to remain cool in a critical situation, as, for example, in a survival experiment in the taiga forest in the Krasnoyarsk area, where three people, including myself, wandered without a compass or food, feeding ourselves on whatever we found in the forest.

Formerly, when man was only beginning to explore his planet, only very brave people set out in search of new lands. Today thousands of people on holiday or business trips sail on ocean liners or fly in planes over places only the bravest adventurers could reach in olden days. But are these people a hundred per cent safe? They are not. However reliable the machine, no one is ensured against accident.

There are a good many professions whose practitioners are left face to face with nature, for example, geologists, fishermen, long-distance truck drivers in the Far North or in the desert, and scientists taking part in all sorts of expeditions. One should also add airmen and spacemen, who must be prepared for a splash-down in the ocean or a landing in dense forest. All such people must know how to behave in extreme situations.

People often get into trouble through their own carelessness. This is especially true of tourists who sometimes overestimate their strength and underestimate the danger.

Practice shows that when confronted with a new and unexpected situation, a person acts from instinct and fear (Alain Bombard, who sailed the ocean single-handed, said that the killer in the ocean is not hunger or thirst, but fear). In a desert, instead of pitching a tent and sitting out the heat of the day, a person sets out in search of water and succumbs to sun-stroke three hours later. In the North, instead of building a snow shelter to weather the storm, a person walks without direction and perishes.

Thanks to the efforts of scientists and human guinea pigs, a new branch of science is developing. For want of a shorter name we call it the "science of the problem of human survival in extreme environmental conditions."

We talked about these problems with doctor of medicine Vitaly Volovich, a leading Soviet specialist on problems of survival. On May 9, 1949, he and parachute jumper Medvedev were the first people to parachute on the North Pole. He participated in an expedition on a drifting ice-floe, and took part in many survival experiments.

Doctors and psychologists expressed doubts. Some of them believed it was wrong deliberately to expose a person's life to danger. Not so Vitaly Volovich. He argued, and proved in experiment after experiment that the risk is minimized for a trained person: in all the years of experiments there had been no accidents. He was told that his experiments could not be considered scientifically faultless: they lacked the all important surprise factor, as the guinea pigs knew what was in store for them, while a person involved in an accident gets no advance warning and suffers from severe nervous stress, absent in a prepared experiment. But this line of reasoning was shown to be wrong. Judging from the diaries of the experimenters, their nervous strain grew day by day in the course of the experiment until their psychological state was to all intents and purposes the same as that of a person suffering distress.

But even in an experiment one cannot foresee everything. Once twelve people in a life-boat were being subjected to an experiment about 2,000 miles from the shore. They were alone: the vessel that had landed them was lying at anchor beyond the horizon. Everything went well until a typhoon suddenly hit the boat. The boat was torn away from the buoy and driven into the raging ocean. It was only located the following day. How this experiment would have ended if the occupants of the boat had not been trained people, but ordinary passengers of a wrecked ship, is anyone's guess.

One may ask why one has to set up such risky experiments if life constantly springs surprises on us? Take, for example, the Scottish seaman Alexander Selkirk, who provided the prototype for Robinson Crusoe. Couldn't the necessary tips and recommendations be obtained from available experience?

The answer is yes, only up to a point. A carefully thought-out and prepared experiment involves numerous measurements, observations, studies and tests. As a result, scientists get a detailed picture of how human organs function and how the psychological state changes.

People have changed physically over the centuries. They are taller and probably stronger, but they have lost some of their former stamina. In the days of yore people had to pursue their quarry for hours and days, while today we simply buy food in a shop. In former times people spent a lot of time and effort to light a fire by rubbing two sticks together. Now they strike a match or use a lighter. As a result, people have lost a lot of useful skills it had taken millennia to acquire. But however striking may be the changes in man, and however perfect the machines he uses, the sweltering heat of the desert, the icy breath of the Arctic and the sea are as much of a danger as ever. The recommendations of experts can to some degree compensate for the lost legacy of our ancestors.

Leonid REPIN

TAKING UP A POINT

I'm convinced that for as long as Reagan remains in power there can be no fundamental shift in the U.S. policy towards peace, disarmament and agreement with the U.S.S.R. Isn't this borne out by Washington's concrete steps and the President's anti-Soviet pronouncements?

Rashid GASANOV
Nakhichevan, U.S.S.R.

Our staff writer GALINA SIDOROVA replies:

I must say that you are not alone in thinking so. I have heard similar opinions expressed in both this country and the United States. The curious thing is that they were voiced by people who often hold opposite views and mean different things. Last year, for example, I heard such an opinion from Professor Donald Zagoria of Columbia University, a member of the New York Council on Foreign Relations. In the old building that houses the council, which provides the White House with recommendations and forecasts, with former presidents and secretaries of state gazing at us from the portraits on the walls, the professor gave a brief lecture for my benefit: its main thrust was that the U.S.S.R. has outstripped the U.S. in the most destabilizing strategic systems and that the Administration's tough line is fully justified. As it is unlikely to abandon its programme of "rearming America," there is little likelihood of an agreement with the Soviet Union in this area.

This year some American members of the Soviet-American peace cruise down the Mississippi, people who, unlike the professor, are worried by the White House's priorities, also took a pessimistic view of prospects for agreement between Moscow and Washington under the present U.S. Administration.

Indeed, as you rightly point out, the actions of the United States can hardly be said to reveal a commitment to peace and accommodation. I must confess that I too sometimes feel short of optimism. But, putting emotion aside, let us try to think: where do we go from here?

There is an implied question in your letter: why deal with the present administration at all? Wouldn't it be wiser to wait until other, perhaps more sober and responsible people come to the White House? But that prompts a whole range of counter questions. Who says the new people would rush to sign agreements with the Soviet Union?

The logic of American political life would seem to testify to the contrary. U.S. politicians fear criticism from the right, rather than from the left, and accusations that they are yielding to the Russians. This, naturally, is not conducive to reaching an agreement. In a different scenario, Americans might elect "a new Reagan." Whether we like it or not, the paradox remains that although they disagree with some of Reagan's political decisions, many Americans are still voting for him.

I would also like to draw your attention to another point. Of course, the present American leadership is not easy to negotiate with. But this has always been the case. The American side put many mutually exclusive suggestions on the negotiating table in the early 1970s, thus impeding progress towards agreement. This is admitted by Gerard Smith, chief U.S. negotiator at the SALT-1 talks, in his memoirs.

Were Soviet-American relations idyllic at the time of détente? Not at all. The right launched an attack on détente even before the notion

I would like to learn about the letters that come to your magazine and the main subjects they touch upon.

L. BORISOV
Sverdlovsk, U.S.S.R.

In reply to your question, I'd like to address all those who regularly read New Times and want to share their views on the articles we carry. This outgoing year New Times received many letters from our Soviet readers, and over 1,400 from abroad, in which people wrote of major world issues, and open-heartedly shared their daily concerns and anxieties.

"I am indignant at the carelessness with which the U.S. brushes aside our peace initiatives, declines to look for a realistic way out and ignores the will of the world community. Can't people in the U.S. see through Reagan and his team's reckless games?" asks N. Katanov from the Yakutian village of Namtsy. "I am a simple fitter, not a politician or a diplomat," writes V. Zhurlov from Saratov on the Volga. "But I know there will be no winners or losers in a nuclear war. That is why I subscribe to Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals aimed at ridding mankind of the nuclear threat."

Articles on World War II prompted our Indian reader, Professor

VLADIMIR ZHITOMIRSKY, head of our information and letters department, replies:

J. Ghosh, to turn back to those years. "I played no part in the second world war," his letter reads, "but if I stayed away physically, my heart was very much with the men, women, and children who stood up to the fascist hordes. Soviet soldiers are immortalized in the hearts of men and women all over the world —we remember them as the ones who died that we might live.... Already in June 1941, I and millions like me believed in the victory of

was born. Leafing through the newspapers of those years, I stumbled upon a remark by Senator Hubert Humphrey, who was regarded as something of a liberal compared with his colleagues. At the height of the "thaw" in Soviet-American relations, speaking for some of the Washington politicians in Congress he said he did not believe waving a fan over the Russians and saying one loved them was the way to deal with them. Holding a clenched fist behind the back is a sort of tradition with American policy makers.

But to return to the present day. The meetings in Geneva and Reykjavik have shown that shifts may be in the offing. They may be difficult and not as fast as one would like, but there are clear signs of change. In Reykjavik we were on the brink of historic agreements. If the American side had not clung to SDI at the last moment, the agreements could have been effected in the near future. In the wake of Reykjavik the U.S.A. has been divided into two camps: those who approve of the President for being "tough with the Russians" (they are clearly in the minority) and those who approved of his readiness to get rid of nuclear weapons (the majority). The question of which side the President himself is on need not be raised here.

Finally, there is the factor of time. We have no time to sit back and speculate whether the policy of the U.S. leadership will change or not. We cannot wait for the "hawks" to turn into "doves" by a wave of the wand or the force of circumstances. The President has set out to force us into a tight corner with the arms race. However, the resources of the U.S.A. are not unlimited, and it should be careful not to be hoisted by its own petard.

Let Reagan decide whether he would like to go down in history as the only U.S. President in decades not to sign a single arms control agreement with the U.S.S.R. In any case, Moscow will act consistently in the interests of peace, that is, in the interests of the whole of mankind. The danger threatening our planet is too great. Weapons of destruction are being improved too fast. These problems are becoming more difficult to solve with every passing day. So, as Mikhail Gorbachev said after the Reykjavik meeting, we shall not abandon our quest for peace. ■

the U.S.S.R.—as we believe the forces of peace will triumph over the advocates of 'star wars.' "

For the most part, the belief is expressed in letters concerning the problems of war and peace that mankind will not allow itself to be pushed into the nuclear abyss, that reason will prevail. "Let us be realists—the world will not change tomorrow. Or the day after tomorrow. But we all hope for the best, and our strength lies in that," writes A. Kurganov, a physician from Kolomna, U.S.S.R. It must be said, however, that not all our readers are as optimistic. Some—though they are in the minority—are of the opinion that the present crisis situation is not likely to be defused. For all that, we try to make different points of view known to our readers, and some give rise to discussions. For instance, the letter from Linda Evans, U.S., defending America's "right" to an unbridled arms race, evoked heated comment, and almost unambiguous at that.

This year we have introduced, in addition to Our Mailbag column on the front page, a Readers' Forum on the central spread, thus giving our readers more space to express their views. Our Taking Up a Point section is also based on your letters. We cover the events of which you write, give more details, and elucidate on our articles at your request.

Our reader Günther Schwarberg from Hamburg, F.R.G., writes, for instance, that our symposium on the Nuremberg Tribunal which was led by Lev Bezymensky and in which participants in the tribunal took part was a valuable lecture in modern history. "I would like to make one observation," he continues. "Mark Raginsky points out that outdated laws of 1871 are applied to nazi criminals in the Federal Republic while the rulings of the Nuremberg Tribunal are ignored. In fact things are still worse—even these laws are not applied."

Many readers confide their innermost thoughts to us. Such trust lays still greater responsibility on our staff.

"Thanks to you I have come to know and understand many things distorted or passed over in silence here in the West," writes Lucia Brandani from Italy. "I respect Russians greatly and sometimes regret that I wasn't born in a socialist country where I would have been respected as a human being, while here it's only lip service." Incidentally, respect for our country and our people are to be found in many letters from foreign readers.

"For many years I have been a lecturer at the CPCz district committee's political education house and propaganda organizer at my party cell and various National Front organizations. New Times is of invaluable assistance in my work," says Jaroslav Svec from Havlickuv Brod, Czechoslovakia.

Such appreciation only makes the staff to work more vigorously to make the journal more interesting, pointed and profound. We are aware of the fact that much potential is still untapped in our work, that it should be free of stereotypes, and always creative. We give serious consideration to all your critical remarks—of which there is no dearth—about our publication and the treatment of this or that problem. New rubrics and sections are more often than not also prompted by concrete suggestions found in our mail.

We thank all the readers who were so kind as to write us in 1986, and hope for your continued interest and contributions in 1987. ■

He's Always Determined to Win

Top Soviet tennis star Andrei Chesnokov.

TASS photo

Listing the ten top Soviet athletes for 1986, many sports writers have ranked the young tennis player Andrei Chesnokov with world chess champion Garry Kasparov, pole-vaulter Sergei Bubka, Soviet national soccer forward Igor Belanov and other stars of world stature. Certainly, it is a long time since a leading Soviet tennis player has merited that honour.

The 20-year-old Muscovite won entry to the top ten by his sensational victory at the very close of the tennis season over 19-year-old Boris Becker, West Germany's No. 1 athlete, 1986 second seed in the world of tennis, and twice Wimbledon champion.

Andrei beat his formidable rival with a spectacular display of sporting prowess at the prestigious Stuttgart tournament for players of 21 and under. Becker had never lost a single game at home where fans have been cheering him for over two years now.

Soviet tennis fans often wondered when a Soviet player would be able to compete with the world's top seeded players. Indeed, ever since the departure of the best Soviet players led by Alexander Metreveli, Soviet tennis has mostly been in the doldrums internationally.

Then in the summer of 1985, at France's open national championship in Paris, the totally unknown Andrei Chesnokov, then 18, beat the American Elliot Talcher, then in the world top ten. This might have seemed a fluke, had he not beaten internationally known players José-Luis Clerk and Martin Jait in the Davis Cup in Buenos Aires in the autumn of the same year.

In one year Chesnokov rose by 100 places in the world table from 136th to 36th place. Before beating Becker he again won éclat at May 1986 French championship routing the previous year's winner, the celebrated Swede Mats Wilander, then seeded second in the world, to reach the quarterfinals. At the U.S. open championship in 1986 he lambasted another famous Swede, Michael Pernfors, seeded eleventh, and reached the fourth round, which many far greater celebrities failed to do.

The future Soviet champion, who last summer captured the title for the second time in succession, took up tennis at the age of six. He was spotted among other first-formers at his Moscow school by girl coach Tatyana Naumko. At the age of 10, Andrei won the Moscow title in his age group. At 14 he became national champion and subsequently topped the 16-year-olds. A year later he scored his first sensational win; though still in the junior category he came first in the Moscow winter tournament for adults which naturally brought him to the notice of national team coaches.

His first idol in tennis is the celebrated Bjorn Borg, five times winner of Wimbledon. To this day specialists say his style is largely reminiscent of Borg's, as he has an extremely powerful and confident double-grip backhand drive, knows how to keep the ball in play and displays cool persistence in battling for every point. Spectators also like him for his behaviour, as unlike many stars even during the most tense and exciting games, he never argues with the judges, and generally holds his emotions in check.

Andrei has an extremely good physique—he is 188 cm tall, and tips the scales at between 75 and 76 kilos. In tough games he demonstrates exemplary stamina and fortitude. In ordinary life he seems rather taciturn and awkward, not knowing what to do with his lanky frame. However, with people he knows he is quite easy-going.

He is always determined to win, whoever his rival may be, even one he knows to be stronger than himself. Soviet team senior coach Shamil Tarpishchev, who knows him well, says he has the enviable skill of being able to attune himself to the aim set before and during tournaments.

Tennis is Andrei's chief, but not his only hobby. He likes playing chess, as, after all, on the tennis court too, he is often faced with complex problems, loves drawing, and collects stamps and music tapes and records.

"He is an extremely gifted lad and not only in the field of sport," coach Tatyana Naumko says. "We never have problems, except perhaps when I have to persuade him to end training sessions."

Andrei NOVIKOV
Master of Sports
of the U.S.S.R.

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67

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NT ATLAS

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This year the following supplements were put out for our subscribers: "The Non-Aligned Movement: Aims, Principles, Practice" (with No. 28), "The Military-Industrial Complex: Its Aims, Interests and Mechanism" (with No. 48).

Yves Saint-Laurent at the Central Fashion House in Moscow.

Haute Couture

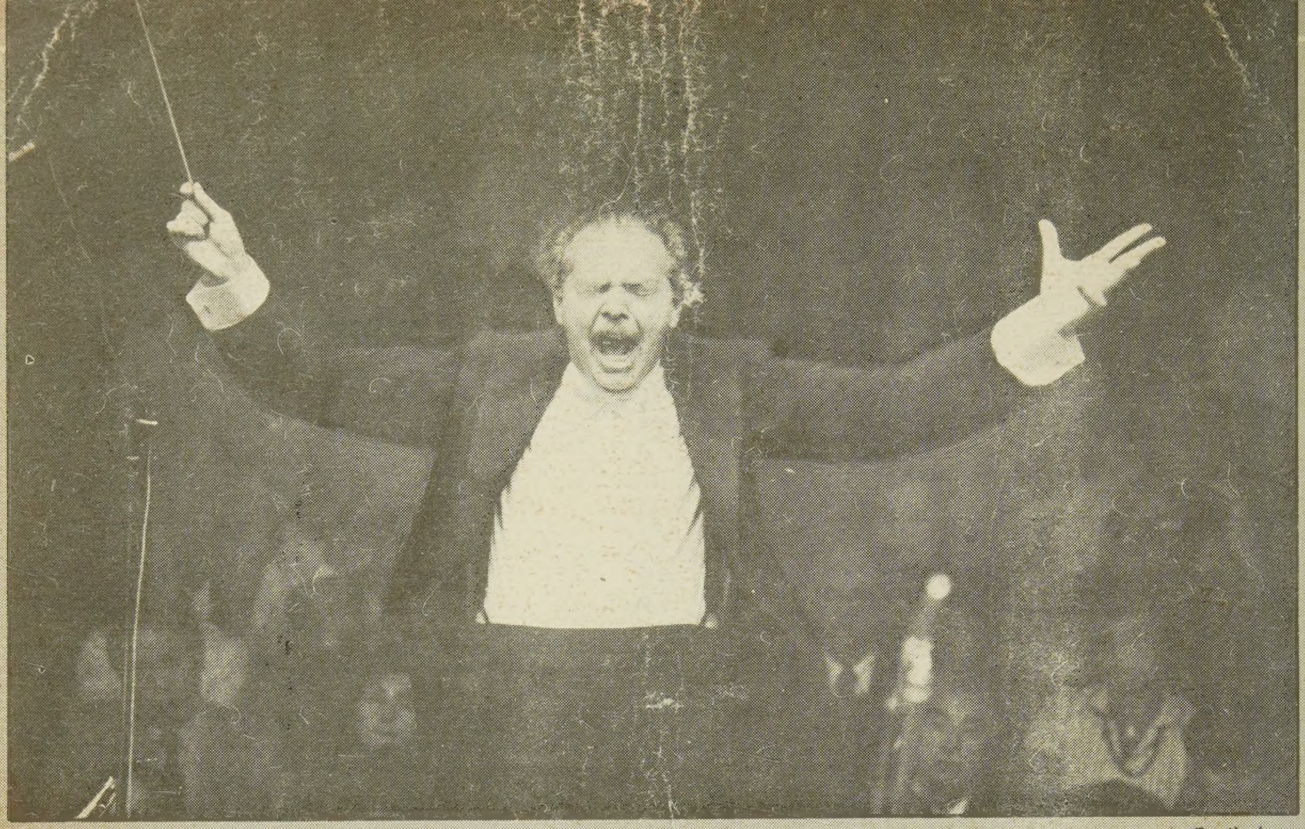
"To be in fashion means to feel comfortable in your clothes and not simply to be fashionably clothed." An unexpected observation coming from no less an authority on the mode than the world famous French fashion designer Yves Saint-Laurent, an exhibition of whose work is now on view in Moscow. For nearly 30 years now he has ranked among the world most noted designers of women's wear. Yves Saint-Laurent first made a name for himself as a youth of 17 at an international dress design contest in 1953. Later he worked as an assistant to Christian Dior. After the latter's death, Saint-Laurent became head of the firm. Before long he opened his salon. Since then, Saint-Laurent's collections are displayed four times a year at the traditional seasonal fashion shows. After his designs all the rest look pallid.

His art of haute couture does not produce some individual models, it creates new styles. On display at the exhibition in Moscow are samples of his work over the years. Here one will not find the answer to the question: what will be in fashion in 1987? Or in 1990. "Don't follow the fashion," the artist says. "If you do you will lose your personality and become a walking design."

Here is one more of his observations: there is no such thing as the fashion of the future; the vogue lives only in the present. His current collection includes many black and dark-grey outfits of severe line caught at the waist.

Silhouettes.

TASS photos and illustrations from the album "Through the Eyes of Yves Saint-Laurent"



Fortissimo.

INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

PHOTO AND GRAPHICS CONTEST

Photos by Istvan CSER (Hungary)

Daddy's violin.

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